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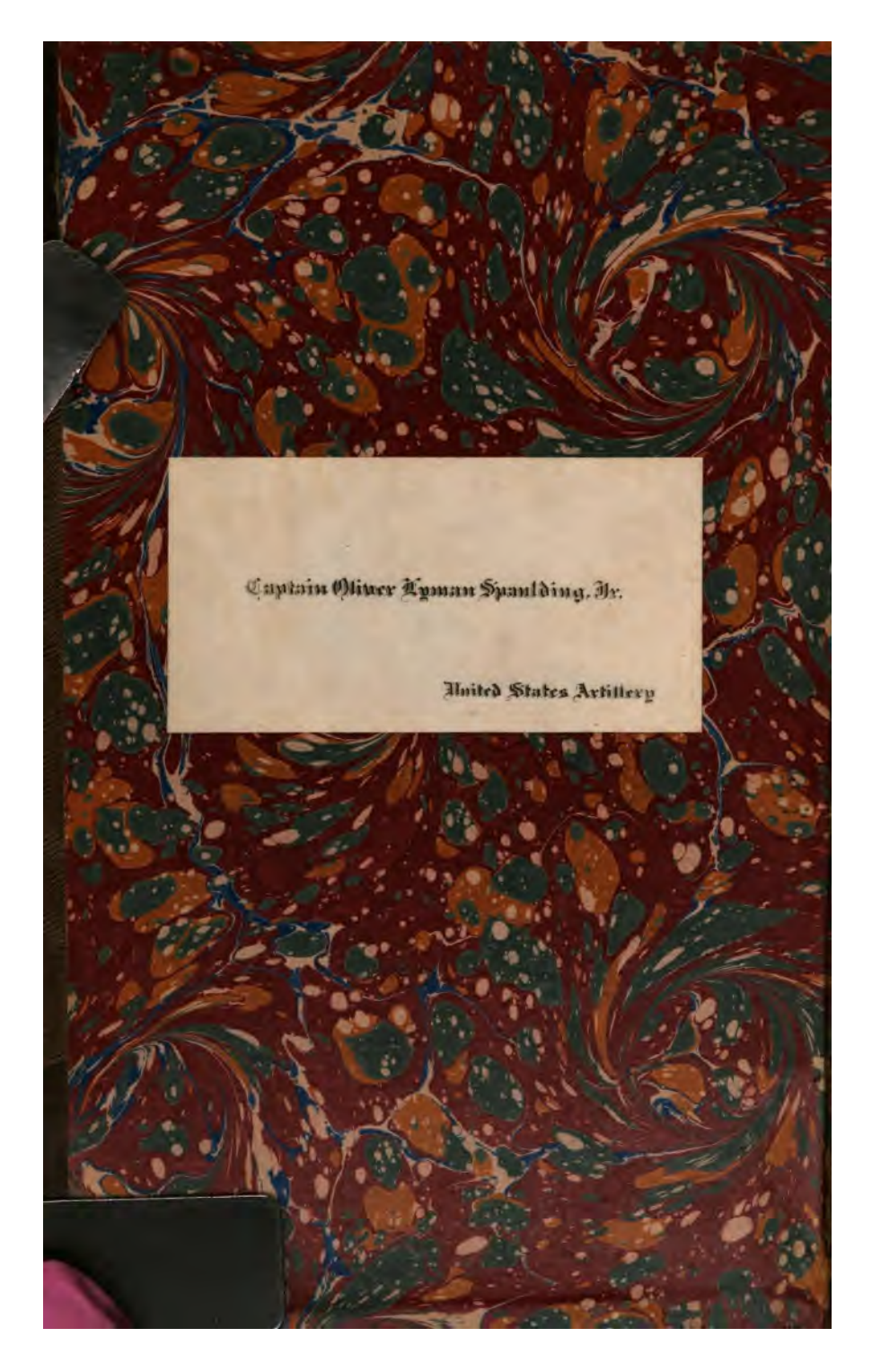
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Captain Oliver Lyman Span' Mr.

United Gallery



The image shows the front cover of a book. The cover is decorated with a traditional marbled paper pattern, featuring swirling, organic shapes in shades of deep red, forest green, and ochre yellow, set against a cream-colored background. A rectangular, off-white paper label is pasted in the center of the cover. On this label, the name 'Captain Oliver Lyman Spaulding, Jr.' is printed in a black, formal Gothic or blackletter typeface. Below the name, the words 'United States Artillery' are printed in a smaller, similar font. The book is bound in a dark, possibly black or dark green, material, which is visible at the edges and corners. A small portion of a pink object is visible in the bottom left corner.

Captain Oliver Lyman Spaulding, Jr.

United States Artillery





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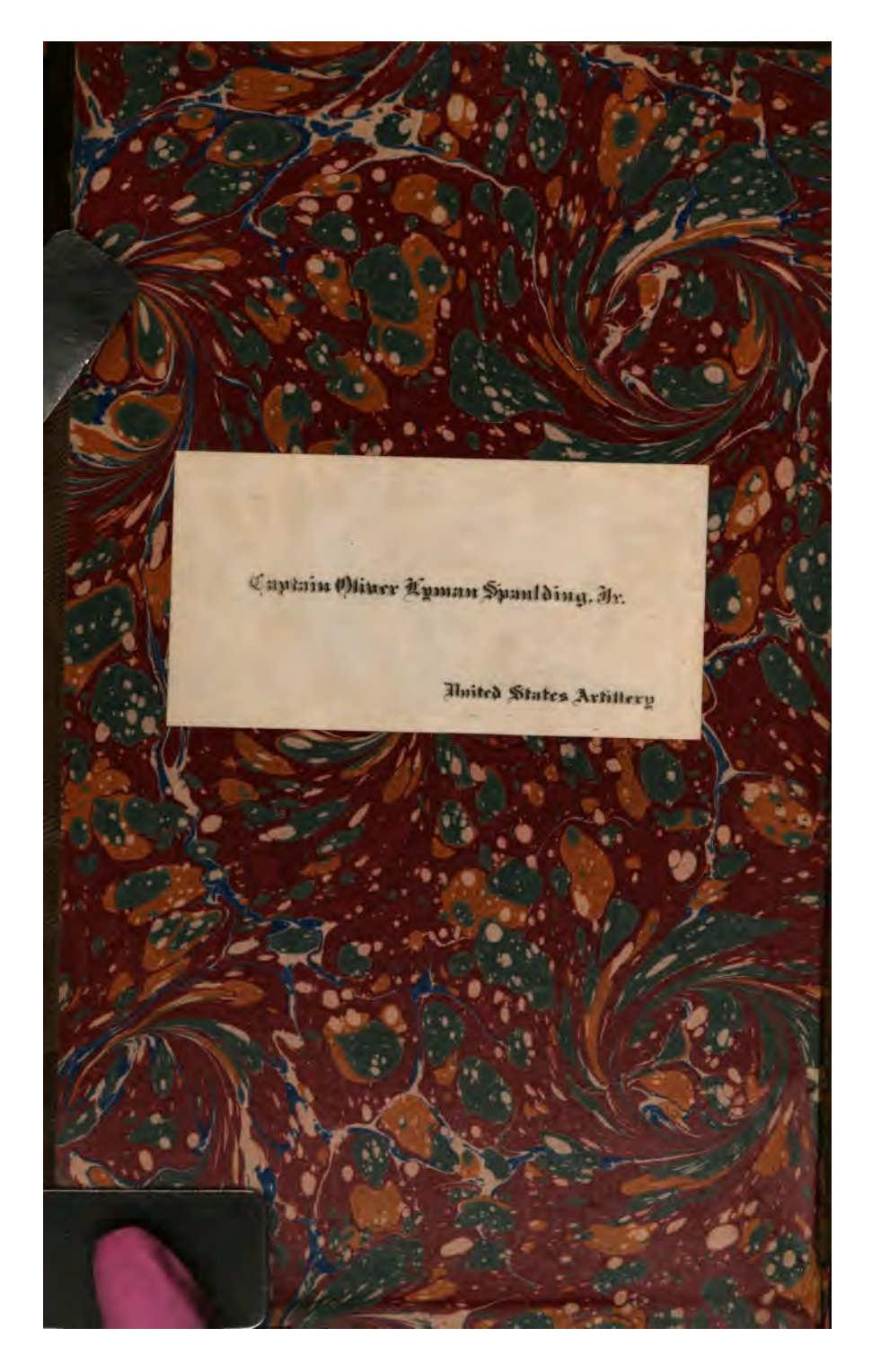
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1844

Chas L. Spaulding, Jr.  
1898.

The image shows the front cover of a book. The cover is decorated with a traditional marbled paper pattern, featuring swirling, organic shapes in shades of deep red, forest green, ochre yellow, and a touch of blue. A rectangular, cream-colored paper label is pasted onto the center of the cover. The label contains two lines of text in a black, calligraphic script. The top line reads 'Captain Oliver Lyman Spaulding, Jr.' and the bottom line reads 'United States Artillery'. The book is held open by a dark, possibly black, binding material visible on the left edge. A small portion of a pink object is visible at the bottom left corner.

Captain Oliver Lyman Spaulding, Jr.

United States Artillery

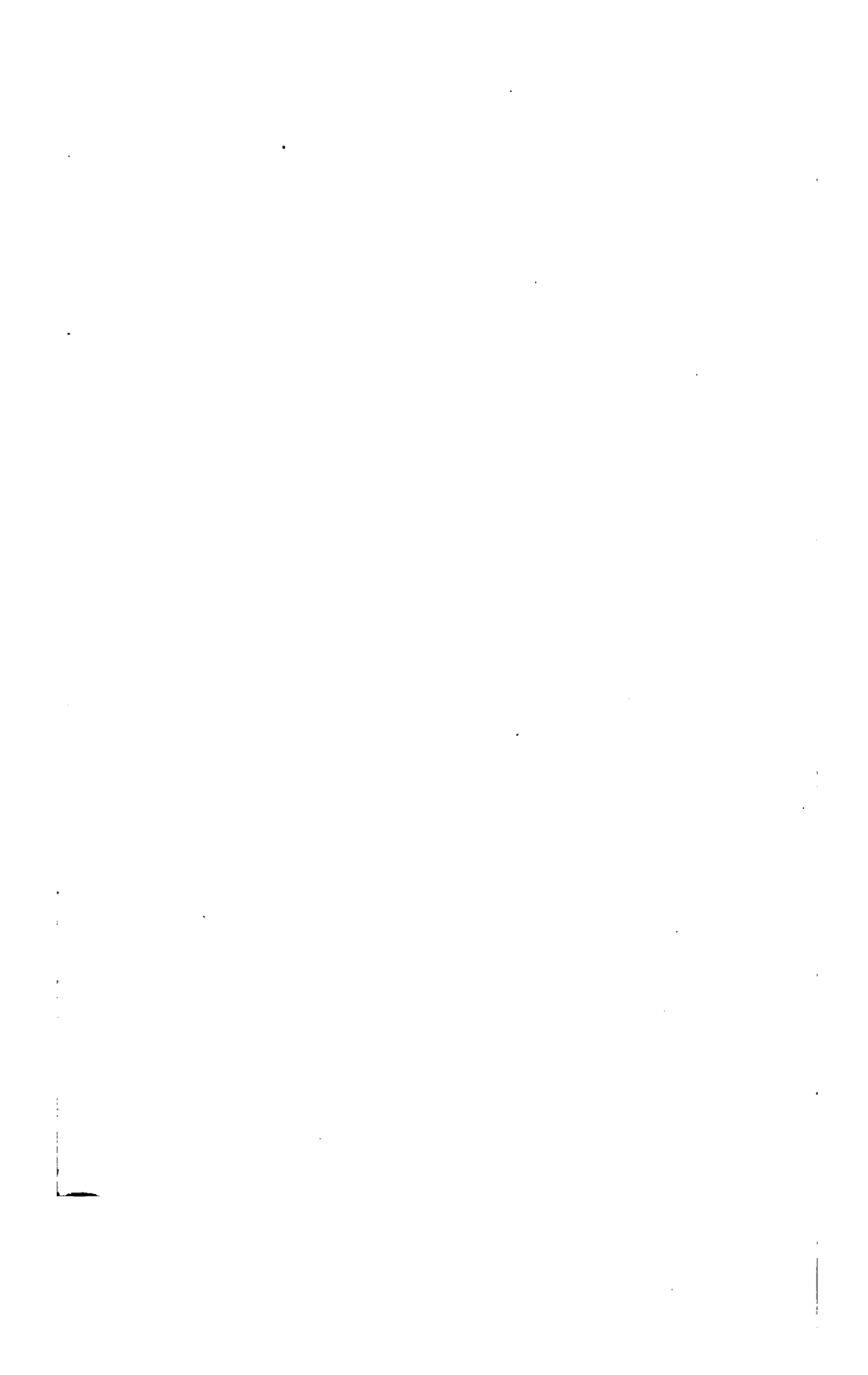




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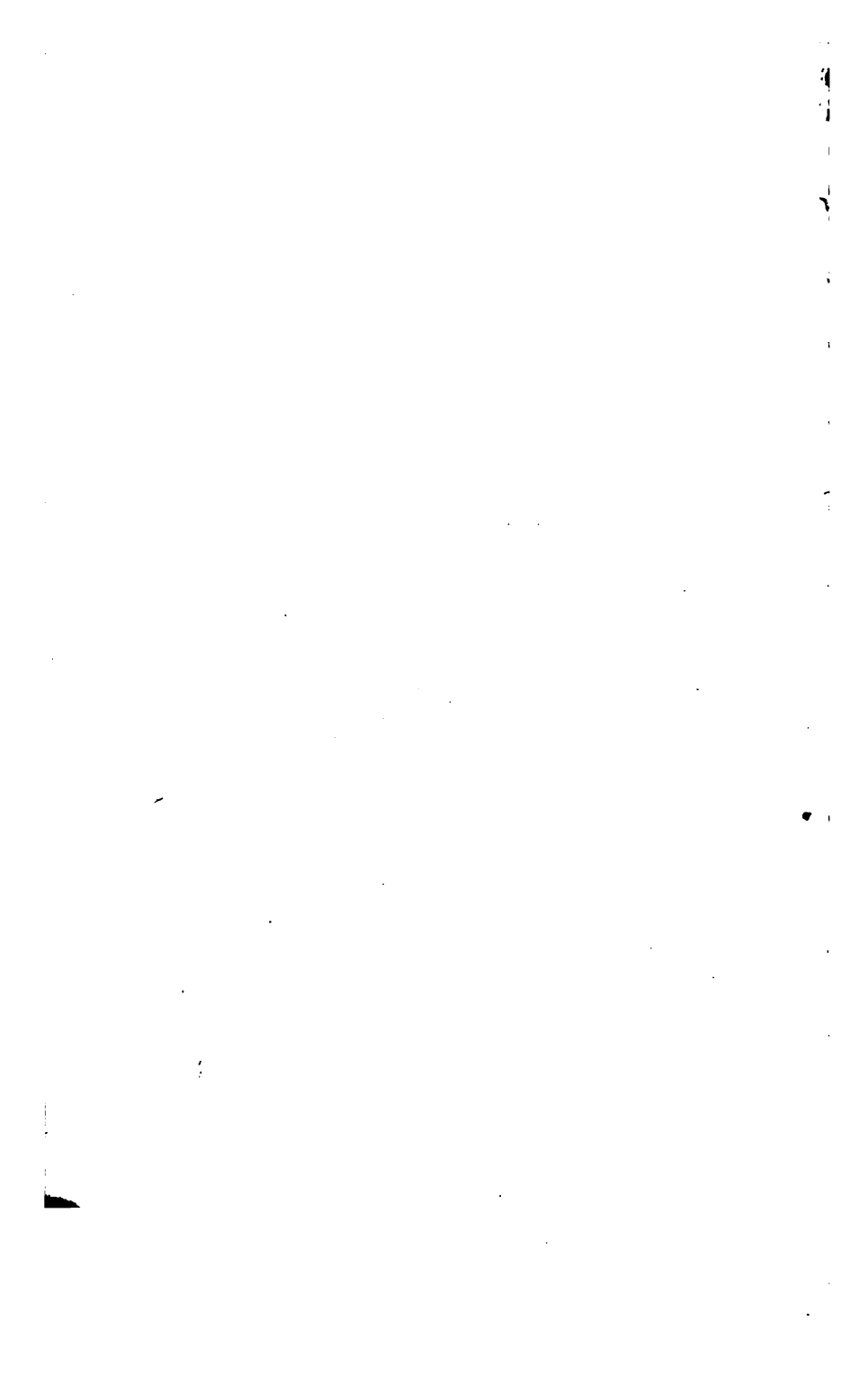


**G A L L U S,**

**FROM THE GERMAN OF**

**PROFESSOR W. A. BECKER,**

*OF LEIPSIC.*



# GALLUS:

OR

## ROMAN SCENES OF THE TIME OF AUGUSTUS;

WITH NOTES AND EXCURSUS

ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE ROMANS.

---

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN OF PROFESSOR BECKER, *W. H. L.*

BY

FREDERICK METCALFE, B.A.

LATE SCHOLAR OF ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

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Gallus et Hesperis et Gallus notus Eois  
Et sua cum Gallo nota Lycoris erat.—OVID.

---

LONDON:  
JOHN W. PARKER, WEST STRAND.

M.DCCC.XLIV.





Erstausg. Spaulding's Meist. Kall  
Keg. 1825-47  
11-25-47

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## TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

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*Gallus oder Römische Scenen aus der Zeit Augusts*—  
such is the German title of Professor Becker's work—  
was published at Leipsic in 1838. The novelty of its  
conception; the comparatively fresh ground it broke in  
the field of Roman Antiquities, and the exceeding eru-  
dition brought to bear on the subject, at once arrested  
the attention of German scholars, and it has ever since  
been considered, what its author ventured to hope it would  
be, 'a desirable repertory of whatever is most worth  
knowing about the private life of the Romans.' Soon  
after its publication, a very lengthened and eulogistic  
critique appeared in the *Times* London newspaper; and  
as it seldom happens that that Journal can find space  
in its columns for notices of this description, no little  
weight was attached to the circumstance, and a pro-  
portionate interest created in the work. Proposals were  
immediately made for publishing it in an English dress,  
and the book was advertised accordingly; but unforeseen  
difficulties intervened, arising from the peculiar nature of  
the work, and the plan was ultimately abandoned.

In fact, in order to render the book successful in  
England, it was absolutely necessary that it should be  
somehow divested of its very German appearance, which,  
how palatable soever it might be to the author's own

3-8-48 m.d.b.

countrymen, would have been caviare to the generality of English readers. For instance, instead of following each other uninterruptedly, the Scenes were separated by a profound gulf of Notes and *Excursus* which, if plunged into, was quite sufficient to drown the interest of the tale. The present translator was advised to attempt certain alterations, and he was encouraged to proceed with the task by the very favourable opinion which some of our most distinguished scholars entertained of the original, and their desire that it should be introduced into this country. The notes have been accordingly transported from their intercalary position, and set at the foot of the pages in the narrative to which they refer. The Scenes therefore succeed each other uninterruptedly, so that the thread of the story is rendered continuous, and disentangled from the maze of learning with which the *Excursus* abound. These, in their turn, have been thrown together in an Appendix, and will doubtless prove a very substantial *caput cœnæ* to those who shall have first discussed the lighter portion of the repast. In addition to these changes, which it is hoped will meet with approbation, a little lopping has been resorted to, and the two volumes of the original compressed into one. In order to effect this, the numerous passages from Roman and Greek authors have, in many instances, been only referred to, and not given at length; matters of minor importance have been occasionally omitted, and more abstruse points of disquisition not entered into. Those who may feel an interest in further inquiry, are referred to the Professor's work, in four volumes, on Roman Antiquities, now in course of publication, in Germany. At the same time, care has been taken not to leave out any essential fact.

The narrative, in spite of the author's modest estimate of this section of his labours, is really very interesting, nay, wonderfully so, considering the narrow limits he had prescribed for himself, and his careful avoidance of anything not founded on fact, or bearing the semblance of fiction.

The idea of making an interesting story the basis of his exposition, and of thus 'strewing with flowers the path of dry antiquity,' is most judicious. We have here a flesh and blood picture of the Roman, as he lived and moved, thought and acted, worth more a thousand times than the *disjecta membra*, the dry skeleton, to be found in such books as Adams' *Roman Antiquities*, and others of the same nature, which, however erudite, are vastly uninviting.

In conclusion, the translator will be abundantly satisfied if, by his poor instrumentality, the English student shall have become acquainted with a most instructive work, and thus his mind stimulated to the further investigation of a subject fraught with peculiar fascination—the domestic habits and manners of the most remarkable people of antiquity.

LONDON,  
May, 1844.

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## AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

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**T**HERE was once a period, when no portion of classic lore was more zealously cultivated than the study of Antiquities, by which is meant everything appertaining to the political institutions, worship, and houses, of the ancients. Though the two former of these are the most important, in an historical point of view, yet objects of domestic antiquity excited still greater attention; and as it was evident that on the understanding of them depended the correct interpretation of ancient authors, the smallest minutiae were deemed worthy of investigation.

The greatest philologists of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, such men as Lipsius, Casaubonus, and Salmasius, took great delight in this particular branch of archæology. The last-mentioned scholar has, in his *Exercitt. ad Solinum*, in the notes to the *Scriptt. Hist. Augustæ*, and *Tertullian De Pallio*, as well as elsewhere, displayed his usual acumen and erudition. And although more recent discoveries have often set him right in the explanation of manners and customs, still his must always be considered as a rich compilation of most judiciously chosen materials.

It however soon became apparent that written accounts were frequently insufficient; and, as monuments

were gradually brought to light from amidst the rubbish that hid them, their importance grew more and more manifest. These witnesses of departed grandeur and magnificence, of early habits and customs, were canvassed with increasing animation; and, in Italy, a great number of works appeared descriptive of them; which, however, often evinced rather an ostentation of extensive learning than real depth and penetration. The Italians possessed the advantage of having the monuments before their eyes, and moreover, the Dutch and German scholars contented themselves with throwing together a quantity of loose and unconnected observations, without bestowing much investigation on their relevancy. But it was after the conclusion of the seventeenth century, that this fault reached its height, and the writings became exceedingly unpalatable, from the tasteless fashion of jumbling antique with modern, and Christian with heathen customs.

Even up to the present time not much has been done in explanation of this particular branch of archæology, and little as such works as Pignorius *De Servis*, Ferrarius *De re Vestiaria*, Mercurialis *De Arte Gymnastica*, Ciaconius *De Triclinio*, Paschalius *De Coronis*, etc., are calculated to give satisfaction, they still continue to be cited as authorities. Whilst the political institutions have been subjected to profound investigation, the private life of the Romans has been quite neglected, or nearly so; and the hand-books, which could not well be entirely silent on this head, have merely presented us hasty notices, taken from the older writers.

The works of Maternus, Cilano, and Nitsch, may have been useful in their day, but they are now quite obsolete.

Meierotto, who undertook to describe the customs and habits of the Romans, has confined himself to making a compilation of a quantity of anecdotes, culled from the old authors, and deducing some general characteristics from them. Couture has also written three essays, entitled, *De la Vie Privée des Romains* in the *Mém. de l'Acad. d. Inscr.* i.

The most important work that has been written, at least upon one part of Roman life, is Böttiger's *Sabina*, as it is the result of actual personal investigation. This deservedly famed archæologist succeeded in imparting an interest even to less important points, and combining therewith manifold instruction, notwithstanding his tediousness, and the numerous instances of haste and lack of critical acumen. We must not omit to mention Mazois' *Palace of Scaurus*. The work has merits, though its worth has been much increased by translation, and it is a pity that the editors did not produce an original work on the subject, instead of appending their notes to a text, which though written with talent, is hurried and uncritical. Dézobry's *Rome du Siècle d'Auguste*, may also prove agreeable reading to those who are satisfied with light description, void alike of depth, precision, and scientific value. It would be still more futile to seek for instruction in Mirbach's *Roman Letters*. In the second edition of Creuzer's *Abriss. der Römischen Antiquitäten*, Professor Bähr has given a very valuable treatise on the objects connected with the meals and funerals. It is the most complete thing of the kind that has appeared, though the work being only in the form of an abstract, a more detailed account was inadmissible.

In the total absence of any work, satisfactorily ex-

plaining the more important points of the domestic life of the ancients, the author determined to write on this subject, and was engaged during several years in collecting materials for the purpose. His original intention was to produce a systematic hand-book, but finding that this would lead to too much brevity and curtailment, and exclude altogether several minor traits, which although not admitting of classification, were highly necessary to a complete portrait of Roman life, he was induced to imitate the example of Böttiger and Mazois, and produce a continuous story, with explanatory notes on each chapter. Those topics which required more elaborate investigation, have been handled at length in *Excursus*.

The next question was, whether a fictitious character, or some historical personage, should be selected for the hero. The latter was chosen, although objections may be raised against this method; as, after all, a mixture of fiction must be resorted to in order to introduce several details which, strictly speaking, may perhaps not be historical. Still there were preponderant advantages in making some historical fact the basis of the work, particularly if the person selected was such as to admit of the introduction of various phases of life, in the course of his biography. A personage of this sort presented itself in Cornelius Gallus, a man whose fortunate rise from obscurity to splendour and honour, intimacy with Augustus, love of Lycoris, and poetical talents, render him not a little remarkable. It is only from the higher grades of society that we can obtain the materials for a portraiture of Roman manners; of the lower orders but little is known. The Augustan age is decidedly the happiest

time to select. Indeed, little is known of the domestic habits of the previous period, as Varro's work, *De Vita Populi Romani*, the fragments of which are valuable enough to make us deplore its loss, has unluckily not come down to us. The rest of the earlier writers, with the exception of the comedians, whose accounts we must receive with caution, throw but little light on this side of life in their times, inasmuch as domestic relations sunk then into insignificance, compared with the momentous transactions of public life; a remark partially applicable to the age of Augustus also. The succeeding writers are the first to dwell with peculiar complacency on the various objects of domestic luxury and comfort, which, now that their minds were dead to nobler aims, had become the most important ends of existence.

Hence it is, that apart from the numerous antique monuments which have been dug up, and placed in museums, (e. g. the *Museum Borbonicum*), our most important authorities on Roman private life are the later poets, as Juvenal, Martial, Statius; then Petronius, Seneca, Suetonius, the two Plinies, Cicero's speeches and letters, the elegiac poets, and especially Horace. Next come the grammarians and the digests; while the Greek authors, as Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Plutarch, Dio Cassius, Lucian, Athenæus, and the lexicographers, as Pollux, still further enlighten us. The author has made it a rule never to cite these last as authorities, except when they expressly refer to Roman customs, or when these correspond with the Grecian. He has also confined himself to a citation of the best authorities, and such as he had actually consulted in person. Their number might have

been considerably increased from Fabricius, Bünau's *Catalogue*, and other works of the kind.

In dividing the work into twelve scenes, the author disclaims all intention of writing a romance. This would, no doubt, have been a far easier task than the tedious combination of a multitude of isolated facts into a single picture; an operation allowing but very little scope to the imagination. It was, in fact, not unlike putting together a picture in mosaic, for which purpose are supplied a certain number of pieces of divers colours. What the author has interpolated, to connect the whole together, is no more than the colourless bits, indispensable to form the ground-work of the picture, and bring it clearly before the eye. His eagerness to avoid anything like romance, may possibly have rather prejudiced the narrative, but, even as it is, more fiction perhaps is admitted than is strictly compatible with the earnestness of literary inquiry.

The character of Gallus may seem to have been drawn too pure and noble, but the author does not fear any censure on this score. His crime has been here supposed to be that mentioned by Ovid, *linguam nimio non tenuisse mero*; and indeed the most authentic writers nowhere lay any very grave offence to his charge. Possibly, the reader may have been surprised that Gallus has not been introduced in more intellectual company, since his position towards Augustus, and friendship with Virgil—very probably with Propertius also—would have yielded a fine opportunity for so doing. But, apart from the hardihood of an attempt to describe the sayings and doings of men like these, nothing would have been gained for our

purpose, while their very intellectual greatness would have prevented the author from dwelling so much on the mere externals of life. Moreover, it is by no means certain that the early friendship between Virgil and Gallus continued to the close of the latter's career, after he had fallen into disfavour with Augustus. Such persons as are here portrayed, abounded in Rome, as we learn from Juvenal and Martial.

In describing Gallus as *cælebs*, the author wished to institute an inquiry into those points of domestic life which had hitherto been little attended to, or imperfectly investigated. As far as the customs, occupations, requirements, &c., of the fair sex were concerned, Böttiger has given very satisfactory information in his *Sabina*; so that the introduction of a matron into Gallus' family might have led to a repetition of matters which that writer has already discussed. In that case the author must also have entirely omitted Lycoris—a personage affording an excellent opportunity of introducing several topics of interest relating to the sex. The relations of marriage, so far as they form the basis of the household, could not be passed over in silence; but it is only in this point of view that the *Excursus* on marriage must be considered, as it makes no pretensions to survey the matter in its whole extent, either as a religious or civil institution.

The author was desirous to have introduced an account of the public shows, theatre, amphitheatre, and circus, but they required such a lengthy preamble, that the subject was omitted entirely, as being too bulky for the plan of the work.

In treating of matters so various, it is quite possible that the author may have occasionally offered erroneous opinions; nor can it be denied that some chapters have been elaborated with more *penchant* than others; all he wishes the reader to believe of him is, that he has never shunned the labour of earnest personal investigation; and he hopes that a work has been composed, which may serve as a desirable repertory of whatever is most worth knowing about the private life of the Romans.

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#### **ERRATUM.**

**The following lines were omitted at the end of the poem in page 44.**

**Words to the winds ! still struggling to be free,  
Go, but when injur'd, blame thyself, not me.**

# G A L L U S.

## SCENE THE FIRST.

### NOCTURNAL RETURN HOME.

THE third watch of the night was drawing to a close, and the mighty city lay buried in the deepest silence, unbroken, save by the occasional tramp of the Nocturnal Triumviri<sup>1</sup>, as they passed on their rounds to see that the fire-watchmen were at their posts, or perhaps by the footstep of one lounging homewards from a late debauch<sup>2</sup>. The last streak of the waning moon

<sup>1</sup> The nightly superintendence or police of Rome, was formerly one of the *officia* of the *triumviri* or *tresviri*, *treviri capitales*, who had to preserve the peace and security of the city, and especially to provide against fires. Livy, xxix. 14; Valerius Maximus, viii. 1, 5. They were also called *triumviri nocturni*. Livy, ix. 46; Valerius Maximus, viii. 1, 6. The timorous Sosias alludes to them, *Amphitryo* Plauti, i. 2, 3:

Quid faciam nunc, si tresviri me in carcerem compererint,

because they arrested those whom they found in the street late at night; and we find the *vigiles* discharging the same function. Petronii *Satiræ*, c. 78. Augustus remodelled this nightly watch, forming seven cohorts with one præfect at their head, *Præfectus Vigilum*. Suet. *Aug.* 30; Paul. Dig. i. 15. In spite of these precautions, fires frequently occurred; and although the Romans possessed no fire-insurance

offices, yet such munificent contributions were made for the persons' relief, that suspicion sometimes arose of possessors of houses having themselves set them on fire. Martial, iii. 52. Juvenal describes the zeal of those, who, not content with rendering pecuniary relief to the sufferers, also made them presents of statues, pictures, books, and so forth. *Satiræ*, iii. 215.

<sup>2</sup> Probably like Propertius, when he had the pleasant vision, book ii. 29. Morning would frequently surprise the drinkers. Martial, i. 29. *Bibere in lucem*, vii. 10, 5, *cenare in lucem*. The debauched life of those, who, inverting the order of nature, slept all day and rioted all night, is well sketched by Seneca, *Ep.* 122. He terms them Antipodes, who in the phrase of Cato, *nec orientem unquam solem, nec occidentem viderunt*.

faintly illumined the temples of the Capitol and the Quadrigæ, and shot a feeble gleam over the fanes and palaces of the Alta Semita, whose roofs, clad with verdant shrubs and flowers, diffused their spicy odours through the warm night-air, and, while indicating the abode of luxury and joy, gave no sign of the dismal proximity of the Campus Sceleratus.

In the midst of this general stillness, the door of one of the handsomest houses creaked upon its hinges; its vestibule<sup>3</sup> ornamented with masterpieces of Grecian sculpture, its walls overlaid with costly foreign marble, and its doors and doorposts richly decorated with tortoise-shell and precious metals, sufficiently proclaimed the wealth of its owner. The *ostiarius*<sup>4</sup>, rattling the chain that served as a safeguard against nocturnal predators, opened the unbolted door, disclosing as he did so the prospect into the entrance-hall, where a few of the numerous lamps were still burning on two lofty marble candelabra,—a proof that the inmates had not

<sup>3</sup> For a description of the different parts of the house, see Appendix; art. *The Roman House*.

<sup>4</sup> The *ostiarius*, or *janitor*, was the slave who had continually to keep watch over the entrance of the house. In ancient times, and often even later, their attendance was secured by fastening them with a chain to the entrance. *Auct. de Clar. Rhet.* 3; Ovid. *Amor.* i. 16, l. Comp. *Sagittar. de Januis Vett.* xvi. c. 19. Usually however they dwelt in the *cella ostiaria*. S. Suet. *Vit.* 16; Petr. c. 29. As the modern porter carries his staff of state, so did the *ostiarius* appear with a *virga* or *arundo*, though not as mere insignia, but in case of need

to repel an intruder. *Sen. de Const. Sap.* 14; Petr. c. 134. Comp. c. 98, Broukh *ad Prop.* iv. 7, 21. The assertion of Wüstemann, founded on Tibullus, i. 7, 76, and i. 6, 61, and Plautus, *Curc.* i. 1, 76, that female slaves were used as *janitrices*, deserves correction. In a Roman house, where numberless clients came to the *salutatio*, and *Viri amplissimi* met to converse, a janitrix would have been a strange appendage. With equally little foundation does Böttiger, *Sab.* suppose a janitrix in the ante-room of the lady of the house. Such a female would have as little right to the appellation of *janitrix* as the *cubicularius* to that of *janitor*.

yet retired for the night. At the same time, there stalked through the hall a freedman, whose imperious mien, and disregard of the surly porter, even more than the attending *vicarius*<sup>5</sup>, at once pointed him out as one possessing much of the confidence of the lord of the mansion. He strode musingly across the threshold and vestibule towards the street, and after looking anxiously on all sides, through the dim light and the shadows of the lofty *atria*, turned to his attendant and said, 'It is not his wont, Leonidas; and what possible reason can he have for concealing from us where he tarries at this late hour? He never used to go unattended, whether to the abode of Lycoris, or to enjoy the stolen pleasures of the Subura. Why then did he dismiss the slaves to-day, and hide from us so mysteriously the place of his destination?'

'Lydus tells me,' answered the *vicarius*, 'that Gallus left the palace in evil mood, and when the slave

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<sup>5</sup> *Vicarius* was the name of a slave's slave. In like manner as the principle, *quodcumque per servum, acquiritur, id domino acquiritur*, was not strictly adhered to, and the slave might by economizing or in other ways obtain a *peculium*, so the more creditable, *honestior*, (Cicero, *Parad.* v. 2), could keep slaves of his own, who formed part of his *peculium*. Cicero, *Verr.* iii. 28; Plaut. *Asin.* ii. 4, 28. Comp. *Martial*, ii. 18, 7, where the poet gives his patron notice, that he shall intermit his *opera togata* because the other has also a *rex*. And similarly Horace, *Satire* ii. 7, 79. *Vicarius est, qui servo paret*. When Ulpian (xv. 1, 17) assigns several *vicarii* to one *ordinarius*, he appears

to have referred to a later period; for Seneca, *de Tranq. an.* c. 8, mentions, as something extraordinary, that Demetrius, the freedman of Pompeius, had two *vicarii*. The footing was similar when the master himself gave the *ordinarius* a slave as his immediate subordinate, who assisted him in his avocation, or supplied his place, like Lucrio in Plaut. *Mil.* iii. 2, 12, 23, 84, *suppromus*, and *subcustos*, though Lucrio does not appear to have been the *peculium* of Sceledrus. So Ballio, *Pseud.* ii. 2, 13, calls himself *Subballio*, the *vicarius*, as it were, of his master Ballio. On the signification of *ordinarius*, see Appendix; art. *The Slave Family*.

who was putting on his sandals<sup>6</sup> enquired whence he should escort him on his return, he bade him await him at home, and then hastened, clad in his coloured *synthesis*<sup>7</sup>, in the direction of the Via Sacra. Not long before

<sup>6</sup> The *solea* (sandals), a covering for the foot, which were worn only in the house, or more correctly, in domestic life. In Gellius, xiii. 21, T. Castricius reproaches his former scholars, who were already senators, for appearing *soleati* in public. Still this restriction cannot be so far extended, as to say that no use at all of the *solea* was made in the streets; for when they supped out, and did not bathe in the house of their host, the *soleæ* were the usual covering for the

feet, and were taken off as soon as they reclined for the meal, and not put on again until they went away. Mart. iii. 80. Hence the common expression *deme soleas*, of the person who takes his place at table, and *poscere soleas*, when he rises to go. Vid. Heindorf. *ad Horat. Sat. ii. 8, 77*. Sometimes it happened that they were lost in the interim, Mart. xii. 28. From Pliny, *Ep. ix. 17*, it would appear that *calceus* is a general term for any covering of the foot. The form



of the *soleæ*, and the manner of fastening them, is gathered from Gellius, and may also be seen in many antique statues, particularly of females, whose proper foot-covering they were. Generally a thong passes between the great and second toe, and is there fastened to another by means of a *ligula*, which passes longitudinally over the upper surface of the foot, and with the ankle-thong keeps the whole secure. Sometimes this thong is divided just at the toe into two parts, which run along the instep, and are fastened by *ligula*

to the ankle-thong. See Appendix ; art. *Male Apparel*.

<sup>7</sup> The *toga*, on account of the exuberance of its folds, and the manner of adjusting it, was too uncomfortable a garment to wear in common household avocations, or at meals, at which, however, it would have been improper to appear in the bare tunic. Hence there were regular meal-dresses, *vestes cœnatoriæ*, or *cœnatoria*, Mart. x. 87, 12, xiv. 136. Petr. 21, *accubitoria* ; ib. 30, also called *syntheses*. It would



his departure, Pomponius had left the house; and Lydus, impelled partly by curiosity, and partly by anxiety at the unusual excitement of his master, followed at a distance, and saw the two meet near the Temple of Freedom, after which they disappeared in the Via a Cyprio.'

'Pomponius!' returned the freedman, 'the friend and confidant of Largus! No company he for an open and frank disposition, and still less at a jolly carousal, where the tongue is unfettered by copious goblets of pure Setinian wine, and of which the Sicilian proverb

be difficult to say with certainty what the form of this *synthesis* was. It is usually assumed to have been a mantle, similar to the *pallium*. Ferrar, *de re Vest.*; Wüstemann, *Pal. d. Scaurus*. Malliot and Martin, *Recherches sur les costumes*, say, "They generally came from the bath to the *cæna*, and then put on the *synthesis*, an exceedingly comfortable, short, and coloured garment." What Dio Cassius, lib. xiii. 13, says of Nero, appears at variance with this assertion: Τοὺς δὲ βουλευτὰς χιτῶνιόν τι ἐνδεδυκὼς ἀνθινον καὶ σινδόνιον περὶ τὸν αὐχένα ἔχων ἡσπάσατο, if we compare it with Suet. *Nero*, 51: *circa cultum habitumque adeo pudendus, ut—plerumque synthesinam indutus ligato circum collum sudario prodierit in publicum sine cinctu et discalceatus*; for there can be no doubt that the χιτῶνιον ἀνθινον answers to the *synthesis*, as the σινδόνιον does to the *sudarium*. In which case the *synthesis* would not be any kind of *amicтус*, but an *indumentum*. Nothing of certainty can be gathered from the reliefs and pictures representing *Triclinia*, and *Biclinia*; for

in these, at one time a bare ungirded tunic is visible, at another, the upper part of the body is quite uncovered, but whatever its form, it was an elegant, and, at least in later times, a coloured garment. Martial, ii. 46, x. 29, &c. The colours most frequently named are, *coccinus*, *prasinus*, *amesthystinus*, *ianthinus*. Pliny, xxi. 8. Dark-coloured *syntheses* on the contrary, such as *galbana* or *galbina*, were less becoming. Mart. iii. 82, 5, i. 97, 9. The name came probably from their being carefully folded up, and placed in a press. Martial and Seneca, *de Tranquill.* an. c. i. Men who were particular about their appearance, no doubt changed them in the middle of a meal. Martial, v. 79. The *synthesis* was never worn in public, except during the *Saturnalia*, when its use was universal, even by the highest classes. Mart. xiv. 141, vi. 24. *Synthesis* is also used in a totally different sense, namely, as an entire wardrobe, or complete suit of apparel. Salmasius, *ad Vopisc. Bonos.*; Böttiger, *Die Furienmaske, Kleine Schriften*.

too often holds good the next morning, 'Cursed be he who remembers at the banquet<sup>8</sup>.' I don't know, Leonidas,' continued he, after a moment's reflection, 'what dismal foreboding it is that has for some time been pursuing me. The gods are, I fear, wrath with our house; they hate too sudden prosperity, we are told; and there was more tranquillity, methinks, in the small lodging<sup>9</sup> near the Tiber than in this magnificent palace: more fidelity, when the whole household consisted of few besides ourselves, than is to be found in this extensive mansion, filled with many *decuriæ* of dearly-purchased slaves, whom their lord hardly knows by sight, ministers of his splendour, but not of his comfort; and above all, more cordiality among those who used to climb the steep stairs, to partake of his simple fare, than in the whole

<sup>8</sup> *μισέω μνάμενα συμπόταν*. Plutarch, *Symposiac* i. 1. The sense in which Martial, i. 28, applies this proverb to Procillus, is certainly the only correct one. Lucian, *Symp.* iii. p. 420.

<sup>9</sup> The Roman of wealth and distinction occupied the whole of his extensive mansion; the less affluent rented, in proportion to their requirements and means, either an entire house, or a section of some great *insula*, the name by which all hired houses went—and the poorer classes took a small *cœnaculum* in an upper story, though at a somewhat extravagant price, *pensio cellæ*. Martial, iii. 30. 3. The poet occupied himself a *cœnaculum* of this description, in the third story, i. 118, 7, *Scalis habito tribus, sed altis*; and he says of the miserly Sanctra, who used to take half his *cæna* home with him, vii. 20, 20, *Hæc per ducentas domum tulit scalas*.

As in an *insula* of this description the lodgers might be very different persons, the stairs to their private apartments often led upwards from the street outside: an arrangement also to be found in the private houses. The *cœnaculum* assigned to Hispala, for her security after she had discovered the monstrosities of the Bacchanalia, was of this description. Livy, xxxix. We learn from Cicero, *pro Cælio*, c. 7, that lodgings could be let even as high as 30,000 sesterces. Cælius, however, only went to the expense of 10,000, i. e. £80.

The usual period of changing lodgings, though perhaps not the only one, was the Kalends of July. Martial, xii. 32, humorously describes the fitting of a *familia sordida* amounting to four persons, who however managed to transfer all their goods and chattels at one journey. See Appendix; art. *The Roman House*.

troop of visitors who daily throng the vestibule and *atrium* to pay the customary morning greeting.'

'Alas! thou art right, Chresimus,' replied the slave; 'this is no longer a place for comfort, and the gods have already given us more than one warning sign. It was not without an object that the bust of the great Cornelius fell down, and destroyed the new pavement inlaid with the image of Isis; and moreover, the beech at the villa, in the bark of which Lycoris carved the name<sup>10</sup> of our master, has not put out leaves this spring; thrice also have I heard in the quiet night the ominous hooting of the owl.'

Conversing thus, they had again reached the vestibule, without perceiving a man who approached with somewhat uncertain gait, from the Temple of Flora. Over his under-garment he wore a festive robe of a bright red colour, such as those in which Roman elegants of the day used to appear at state-banquets. His sandals were fastened with thongs of the same dye; while a chaplet of young myrtle and Milesian roses hung negligently down on the left brow, and appeared to be gliding from his perfumed locks<sup>11</sup>; in short, every

<sup>10</sup> See Propertius, i. 18, 21.

<sup>11</sup> See Ovid, *Amor.* i. 6, 37, and Martial, xi. 8, 10, iii. 65, 8. The rose was the flower chiefly used for garlands; and the proverb *sub rosa* bears testimony to the fact. It also serves to mark the regular *comissatio*. Martial, x. 19, 19, and iii. 68, 5. Myrtle and roses were a common intermixture. See Mitscherlich *ad Hor. Od.* i. 38. The heavy *centifolia* was less adapted for garlands. Pliny xxi. 4.

The Milesian, according to Pliny, *ardentissimo colore non excedens duodena folia*, and according to Billerbeck, *flora Classica*, the damask rose, under which name is probably not to be understood that so called by our gardeners, but a variety of the *rosa lutea*, with a bright red flower; but as this has not *duodena folia*, we must rather suppose a *holoserica* to be meant. See Appendix; art. *The Garlands*.

thing indicated that he was returning from some joyous carousal, where the *amphoræ* had not been spared.

Not till he had gained the vestibule did Chresimus become aware of his approach. 'There he is at last,' exclaimed the faithful freedman, with a lightened heart. 'All hail! my lord. Anxiety for you brought us out of doors; we are unused to find you abroad at so late an hour.'

'I was with true friends,' answered the master, 'and the hours vanish gaily and swiftly over the wine-cup, and in familiar chat: Pomponius, too, was my companion nearly all the way home.' At this closing remark the visage of the freedman again became clouded; he went silently towards the door, and having opened it, followed with Leonidas their lord into the house. While the *ostiarius* was engaged in bolting the door, Chresimus proceeded to light a wax-candle at one of the lamps, and led the way, through saloons and colonnades, to the sleeping apartment of his lord. Having arrived in the ante-room, the slave of the toilet, who was in waiting, received the *synthesis* and sandals, whilst the *cubicularius* threw open the door and drew back the many-coloured tapestry of Alexandria which served as a curtain<sup>12</sup>; again smoothed

<sup>12</sup> The several portions of a Roman house were not all provided with doors, though of course the *cellæ*, *hibernacula* and *dormitoria* were. The place of the door was supplied by a hanging, *velum*, *aulæa*, *παράπετασμα*. Hence among the officers of the domus Augusta were the *velarii*, or *a velis*. The assertion that the ancients had almost all their chambers in the interior of their houses shut in with hangings only, is refuted by

Terence, *Eun.* iii. 5, 55; *Heaut.* v. 1, 33; *Phormio*, v. 6, 26; &c. Sometimes curtains, as well as doors, were hung over the entrance. Suet. *Claud.* 10. Sidon. *Apoll.* iv. ep. 24, says of one who lived very unassumingly, *tripodes sellæ, Cilicium vela foribus appensa, lectus nihil habens plumæ*, &c. Tacit. *Ann.* xiii. 5; Pollio, x. 7, 32. Martial alludes to such a door-curtain, i. 35, 5. The windows also had curtains besides the shutters.

the purple coverlet that nearly concealed<sup>13</sup> the ivory bedstead<sup>14</sup>, and remained till his master had reposed his head on the variegated feather tapestry<sup>15</sup> covering the pillow,

<sup>13</sup> Over the bed, coverlets, *vestes stragulæ*, *stragula* were spread, and among the more wealthy, purple coverlets, *conchyliata*, *conchylio tineta*, which were adorned with interwoven and embroidered figures. See Heind. *ad Horat. Sat.* ii. 3, 118. We may infer from Cicero, *Verr.* iv. 26, how great was the number of such coverlets in many a *supellex*. Compare *Philipp.* ii. 27. Martial, ii. 16, makes an excellent joke on the vanity of Zoilus, who pretended to be ill, that he might shew his visitors the *coccina stragula* of his bed, which he probably had just received from Alexandria.

<sup>14</sup> The bed of the ancients, *lectus cubicularis*, which was higher than the *lectus tricliniarius*; they got upon it by means of a *scamnum*; hence, *scandere lectum*, *ascendere*, *descendere*, Broukh *ad Tib.* i. 2, 19; Ovid. *Fasti* ii. 349—354; it was either of bronze, or of costly wood, Prop. iii. 7, 49; Pliny, xvi. 43, inlaid with tortoise-shell and ivory, and with golden and ivory feet, *fulcris*. This frame was strung with girths, called sometimes *restes*, at others *fasciæ*, and again *instiæ*, which supported the *culcita* or *torus*, the bolster and mattress. This is the *tenta cubilia* of Horace, *Epodum* xii. 12; Cicero, *de divin.* ii. 65; Martial, v. 62; Petronius, c. 97. The *lectus cubicularis* had (especially when it was intended for two persons) an elevated ledge on one side of it, *pluteus*, which word is used to denote the whole side, while the side by which they got into the bed was called *sponda*. Isidor. xx. 11. The same is meant by the *prior*

*interiorque torus*. Ovid, *Amor.* iii. 14, 32; Suet. *Cæs.* 49; Scip. *Afric. in Gellius*, vii. 12.

<sup>15</sup> The meaning of the term *plumarius* is very obscure; the explanation of Salmasius *ad Vopisc. Carin.* has been generally adopted. *Plumas vocarunt veteres notas ex auro vel purpura rotundas et in modum plumarum factas (?) quibus vestes intertexebantur ac variabantur*. Again, *clavos intextos aureos, quæ πλουμία Græci recentiores vocabant—a plumis igitur illis, hoc est clavis, quibus vestes intertexebantur, plumarii textores dicti, non solum qui clavos vestibus insuerent et intexerent sed qui quocunque genere picturæ, quibuscunque coloribus et figuris variatas vestes pingerent*. The latter assertion, however, wants proof, but was indispensable to his explanation.

*Plumata vestes*, are garments, the ground of which was figured with gold embroidery. Why the *notæ* embroidered on them came to be called *plumæ*, is still a question; but the proofs that this was the case are unequivocal. Publ. Syrus, *Petr.* 55; Lucan, x. 125. The ornament is always designated as golden, but the embroidery is never mentioned as being executed in divers colours; and when the Glossaries translate *plumarius* by ποικιλτής, it does not convey that idea. The *toga picta* is also embroidered with gold, Appian, *Pun.* and *variare auro* is a common expression—therefore it would be wrong to infer from the *Scholion ad Lycoph.* that πλουμαρικοί is, embroidered in various colours, particularly as in that

case it would not be mentioned, besides the *πεποικιλμένοι*. Salmasius misquotes Firmicus Maternus, iii. 13, 10, and from this decides upon the work of the *plumarii*; but that Firmicus, by *plumarii*, did not mean fabricators of gold-embroidered garments, is plain, from his always denoting these by periphrasis, iii. 36—12. Of whatever form the *plumæ* were, whether as Salmasius supposes *clavi*, or *orbiculi*, the *plumata vestes* were in every case gold-embroidered. Varro in *Nonius* ii. p. 716, expressly distinguishes the *plumarius* from the *textor*. Moreover, if his business consisted merely in sewing on *nota rotunda*, *clavi* (and *πλουμια* can only be explained to be something of this sort,) then the art required was not very great; and what need was there, *didicisse pingere* in order to understand it? And how unsuitable would gold embroidery have been for *pulvinares plagæ*, for which the softest stuffs possible were used. Martial iii. 82, 7. Still less can we reconcile with the above explanation the passage of Vitruvius, (B. vi. 7) where the workshops of the *plumarii* are called *tex-trinæ*. Their business then was not to adorn with embroidery, garments already made, but to weave in some peculiar manner; and there is nothing about gold, but about colours, which must be kept from the sun that they may not fade.

The expression seems to require some other explanation, and however near the connexion may seem to be between *plumarius* and *plumata vestis*, still Varro and Vitruvius probably allude to an entirely different kind of work. In the Glossaries *plumarius* is translated by *πτιλοβάφος*, (feather-dyer), which Salmasius changes into *ψιλοβάφος*, in which *βάπτειν* is to denote *variare* generally, as well as to embroider! If a

printing in colours had been alluded to, then this would have been possible. But *βάπτειν* cannot have this signification, any more than the Romans would have said *tingere vestes* instead of *acu pingere*. On the contrary *πτιλοβάφτης* appears very correct. When Martial, xii. 17, says of a fever that will not leave Lentulus because he takes too good care of it, *dormit et in pluma purpureoque toro*, this may no doubt be understood of the feathers with which in later times the cushions were stuffed. But the same explanation will hardly suit *Epig.* xiv. 146, Lemma *Cervical*:

*Tinge caput nardi folio: cervical olebit:*

*Perdidit unguentum cum coma, pluma tenet,*

for the ointment could only be communicated to the pillow-case. Still less could it be admissible, with Böttiger, *Sabina*, to understand what Propertius says of Pætus, *Effultum pluma versicolore caput*, iii. 7, 50, as alluding to cushions which were stuffed with feathers of divers colours. On these grounds, I am inclined to believe that the *plumarii* prepared real feather-tapestry, with which the *pulvini* and *cervicalia* were covered; and the same is probably meant by *πτερωτά καὶ πτιλωτά προσκεφάλαια*. *Pollio* x. 1, 10. If in modern days we have succeeded in constructing from coloured feathers tapestry of a very durable nature, covered with all sorts of emblems, why should not the ancients, who certainly in many things shewed greater cunning of hand than we do, obtain credit for equal ingenuity? Seneca, *Ep.* 90, also speaks of garments even, made of feathers; and *plumarius* and *πτιλοβάφος* (from *pluma*; if from *plumare*, it would be *plumator*,) is he who works in feathers, as *lanarius*, he who works in wool, *argentarius* in silver, etc.

stuffed with the softest wool<sup>16</sup>, after which he quitted the apartment.

He who returned home thus late and lonely, without the usual accompaniment of slaves, was Cornelius Gallus<sup>17</sup>, a man received and envied in the higher circles of the

<sup>16</sup> The usual and genuine *to-mentum*, with which bolsters and cushions were stuffed, was locks of wool. Pliny, viii. 48, 73, derives the use of wool from Gaul, but without being able to fix the period of its introduction. In olden times they had nothing but straw-mattresses, and in later also the poorer classes stuffed their beds with chopped sedge. Martial, xiv. 160 and 162, Seneca, *de vita beata*, c. 25. At a later period the voluptuous Romans became dissatisfied with wool, and not only the *cervicalia*, but also the *torus* began to be stuffed with feathers. The feathers and down of white geese were used; but above all, as among us the eider-down, those of the small white German geese, *gante*, were highly valued; so that prefects would send out whole cohorts to hunt them, and their feathers were sold at five *denarii* the pound. Pliny, *Epist.* x. 22, 27. Cicero, *Tuscul.* iii. 19, speaks of a *culcita plumea*. Swans'-down also was used. Mart. xiv. 161. The *torus* was also stuffed with feathers. Mart. xiv. 149. And no doubt the *pensiles plumæ* of the litter, Juv. i. 159, are to be understood in this sense. How different was a Roman bed of this description from the softest couch of the Greeks, as described by Homer, who mentions no bolster or cushion, even in the most wealthy abode!

<sup>17</sup> The scanty accounts we possess respecting the personal history of

Gallus, are to be found in Dio Cassius, Strabo, Suetonius, Virgil, Propertius and Ovid. The few fragments of his poems, even if authentic, afford us no further information. We learn from the above writers that he was of obscure, at least poor, ancestors, which, nevertheless, did not prevent his obtaining the favour of Octavianus, and being included in the select circle of his friends. In the war against Antony he was general of a division of the army, and Dio Cassius, li. 9, commemorates his skilful conquest and defence of the port of Parætonium. After the subjugation of Egypt, he was raised by Octavianus to the rank of Prefect of that country. Dio Cass. c. 17. He gives us no further account of him till on the occasion of his unfortunate end. Dio Cass. liii. 23. It was probably his expedition against the rebellious cities of Heroopolis and Thebes, which caused his downfall. (Strabo xvii. 1.) At all events Valerius Largus, formerly the confidential friend of Gallus, made these suspicious circumstances the ground of an accusation against him, and in consequence Augustus forbade Gallus visiting his house, or remaining in his provinces. (Suet. *Aug.* 47, *Claud.* 23.) Immediately after his disgrace, numerous other accusers appeared, who succeeded in getting him exiled and his property confiscated. Gallus could not endure his fall, and killed himself with his sword. This ac-

Roman world as the friend and favourite of Augustus, but secretly hated by them; for though not ashamed of slavishly cringing to the mighty despot, they looked haughtily on the exalted plebeian. He was however among the friends of the soberer as well as brighter Muses, universally prized as a man of much learning, and celebrated as a graceful and elegant poet; while in the narrower convivial circle he was beloved as a cheerful companion, who always said the best of good things, and whose presence gave to the banquet more animation than dancers and *choraulæ*<sup>18</sup>. Notwithstanding the renowned name which he had taken, he had in reality no claim to glorious family reminiscences, such as it suggested: and the trophies indicative of former triumphs which decked the door and door-posts<sup>19</sup> of his mansion, were the unalienable adjuncts of the house

count of Dio's is contradicted by that of Suet. *Aug.* 66. The chief cause of his condemnation was his highly treasonable speeches against Augustus. Ovid. *Trist.* ii. 446, and *Amor.* iii. 9. 63. Ammian. Marc. xvii. 4, makes the severer charge against him of having taken undue advantage of his governorship, but it is mentioned neither by Suetonius, Dio Cassius, nor Ovid, as the cause of his disgrace; and that he was not either a violent or a dishonest man, the friendship of Virgil, who inscribed his tenth Eclogue to him, testifies. The contempt too with which Lærgus was treated, and the regret of Augustus, shew that he had not deserved such a fate. His passion for Lycoris arose about 9 or 10 years before his death, and the circumstance of his renewing the connection with her, after her infidelity, is imaginary.

<sup>18</sup> The recitations, ἀκροαματα, usual during the meal, as well as the music of the Symphoniaci, the displays of the Dancers, Mimes, Rope-dancers and Jugglers, the *Scurræ* and *moriones* with their jokes, must have sadly interfered with the conversation of the guests. Martial, ix. 78. Pliny however (*Ep.* ix. 17) numbers the *lector*, *lyristes* and *comædus*, among the becoming pleasures of the table, and worthy of a refined taste; but the many took no interest in such things, and preferred low ribaldry. Corn. *Att.* xiv.

<sup>19</sup> The Triumphator was permitted to suspend the spolia at his door. Livius, x. 7, xxxviii. 43. These marks of valour achieved, remained as the unalienable property of the house which they had first rendered illustrious, and could not, even in case of sale, be taken down. Pliny, xxxv. 2; Cic. *Phil.* ii. 28.



itself; earnest mementos of a glorious past, and serving as an admonition to each occupier, what his aim must be, would he avoid the humiliating feeling of living undistinguished in the habitation of renown. His grandfather had arrived a stranger in Rome, a little before the reign of terror, when Caius Marius and L. Cornelius Cinna profited by the absence of the most powerful man of the time, to effect a reaction, the ephemeral success of which only served to prepare more securely the way to renown for the ambitious Sylla. It was through Cinna himself that he obtained the right of a citizen, and in conformity with the custom of the period he adopted the Cornelian name, along with the surname<sup>20</sup> which denoted his extraction. But the horrors of Sylla's proscriptions drove him from Rome, and he returned to Gaul, where he had since been residing in ignoble obscurity at Forum Julii. There Gallus passed the first years of his childhood, under the careful auspices of his father, who saw in the happy disposition and lofty spirit of his boy the harbingers of no ordinary future. Therefore, although he could not be accounted wealthy, he determined to make every sacrifice in order to give his son such an education as usually fell to the lot of the sons of senators and knights.

When the boy had been instructed in the first elements of knowledge by an accomplished Greek tutor, his father set out with him for Rome, and after carefully searching for a suitable person, placed him under the tuition of a grammarian of great repute: he subsequently attended the school of a celebrated rhetorician, and also took

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<sup>20</sup> The custom by which the stranger assumed the name of him, through whom he obtained the right

of a citizen, is generally known. Cic. *ad Fam.* xiii. 36.

lessons in Latin elocution, which had lately become somewhat fashionable; and he was not allowed to intermit these studies even after he had passed the threshold of boyhood and put on the *toga*, the symbol of riper years. At the age of twenty he was sent to Athens, even at this period the nurse of all the profound and elegant sciences, in order to give a finish to his education, and to combine in him Attic elegance with Roman solidity.

Gallus was still at Athens, when the faithful Chresimus brought him the news of the death of his father, who after accomplishing his grand object, the education of his son, had returned to Forum Julii. He wept tears of love and gratitude with the true-hearted Chresimus, and left Athens to take possession of the small patrimony bequeathed him by his father, and which he found much more insignificant than he had supposed. There was just enough for him to live on with tolerable comfort in a provincial town, but it would only keep him like a beggar in Rome; nevertheless he resolved to seek his fortune in the focus of the world, and a year later returned to Rome, a powerful, resolute, and highly-educated man.

There the terrific scenes of the second triumvirate were not long over, and the republicans, driven from Italy, were preparing beyond the sea for the final struggle. There were only two parties to choose from, and Gallus did not long hesitate which to espouse. It was not any particular inclination to the ambiguous Octavianus, still less to either of the other potentates, that determined him to take up arms for the cause of the triumvirate; but his certain conviction that the time was arrived, when the crumbling edifice of the republic must be annihilated, and the ambition of a selfish aristocracy kept down by the

mighty energies of one supreme ruler. Perhaps, too, he was actuated by the hope that his merits were more likely to be appreciated, and meet with proper acknowledgment from one raised above the petty consideration of rivalry, than from the haughty patricians, who were accustomed to look down upon merit striving to emerge from obscurity.

He first took part in the campaign against Sextus Pompeius, under the command of Salvidienus. His gallantry and fortitude at the unlucky sea fight, which took place not far from the destructive rocks of Scylla, did not fail to attract the eye of Octavianus, whom he soon after followed to the decisive battle of Philippi. There, too, his warlike deeds were adorned with fresh laurels, and in returning with the victor back to Italy, his social qualities soon made him the agreeable companion, and before long, the intimate friend of Octavianus,—a friendship which he had tact enough to keep up; and while his proper hours of relaxation were spent in familiar intercourse with Virgil, the younger Propertius, and other congenially-minded friends of the Muses, he by no means neglected the more grave occupations to which his distinguished oratorical powers called him.

The war against Antony and Cleopatra summoned him again into the field, and now commenced the most brilliant period of his life. The able manner in which he took and held the important seaport, Parætonium, the destruction of the hostile fleet, and many other spirited exploits, raised him so high in the estimation of Octavianus, that when Antony and Cleopatra atoned for their long intoxication of pleasure and folly by voluntary death, and Egypt was enrolled among the number of Roman provinces, he, being in the undivided possession of the

supreme authority, made Gallus governor of the new province, under the title of Prefect; thinking, doubtless, that the command of so rich a province could with more safety be entrusted to him than to a senator.

Was it wonderful, then, that finding himself suddenly placed at so great an elevation, his sanguine and fiery disposition carried him occasionally beyond the bounds of moderation, and that,—after severely chastising the rebellious cities, especially the wondrous Thebes,—he caused his statues to be erected, and the record of his deeds to be engraved on the pyramids? was there anything unusual in his carrying off the treasures and valuables of the subjugated cities, as a fit recompense for his exertions?

Octavianus, who had now assumed the more noble name of Augustus, heard the report of these acts with a concern, which the enemies, whom the good fortune of Gallus had raised up against him, did not fail to foment: and without being actually angered with his former friend, recalled him to Rome, and nominated Petronius, a man by no means well-disposed towards him, as his successor.

Gallus was not pleased with his recall, although it had been made in such a manner, as in a great measure to efface its unpleasantness. The riches which had followed him from Egypt to Rome, enabled him to live with a magnificence hitherto quite unknown to him, and in the superabundance of such enjoyments as served to heighten the pleasures of life. Still accounted the favourite of Augustus, and always admitted as a welcome guest to the select circle that had access to the table of this mighty sovereign, he now saw people, who, ten years before, would scarcely have deigned to acknowledge his salutation, vying with each other to gain his friendship.

Although Gallus was advancing to that period of life when the Roman was considered no longer a youth, he had not yet prevailed upon himself to throw constraint on the freedom of his existence, by entering the bonds of matrimony. Indeed, the stricter forms of marriage began generally to be less liked; and no law inflicting a penalty on celibacy had at that time been passed. At an earlier period of his life, the narrowness of his circumstances had led him to look with shyness on marriage, in consequence of the expenses attendant on such an increased establishment, as the grand notions of the Roman ladies would have rendered unavoidable; and more than this, he dreaded the dependence into which he would have been thrown, if he had married a person of fortune<sup>21</sup>; but being also at the same time averse to concubinage, had preferred contracting an intimacy of a less durable nature with certain accomplished *Hetairai*, who were capable not only of admitting, but also of returning his passion.

Thus, after his return, he continued to pursue an unfettered course of life, regulated by his own inclinations alone; a life which others much envied, and which would have been a happy one, had it not been for his impetuous and passionately excitable temperament, and unsparing freedom of speech, especially in his cups. These causes were beginning to throw a cloud over his future prospects;

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<sup>21</sup> The requirements made by ladies, especially if noble, were of such a nature as to take away all desire of marriage. Plautus, *Aulul.* iii. 5; Mil. iii. 1, 91. If the woman did bring her husband a dowry of some amount, it often followed that

his position in the house was not the pleasantest. Plauti *Asin.* i. 1, 74, and *Epid.* ii. 1, 2. Over-learned ladies were to be feared. *Sit non doctissima conjux*, is Martial's condition (ii. 90.) Juvenal, vi. 445.

for, although raised by Augustus from the depths of poverty to honour and wealth, he had nevertheless too much straightforwardness not to express frequently his loud disapprobation of many arbitrary proceedings and secret cruelties, perpetrated by his benefactor. Clandestine envy, which was busy about him, had dexterously profited by these speeches, and there was even talk of a complaint secretly lodged against him by his former friend and confidant, Largus, on the score of mis-government in Egypt. At all events, Gallus could not conceal from himself, that for some time past a coolness had pervaded Augustus' manner towards him, and that his former intimate familiarity had been succeeded by a haughty seriousness and suspicious reserve.

But although his present position would have enabled him to regard this alteration with indifference, still his estimation among the higher circles of Rome depended too much on the favour of Augustus for him to neglect using all his endeavours to remain, at all events in outward appearance, in possession of his good graces. It was for this reason that he had this evening been supping at the imperial board, without invitation, as he had always been accustomed to do; but he had found Augustus in a worse humour than ever, and among the company his bitter enemy, Largus. Some caustic remarks touching the fate of Thebes, drew forth from the irritable Gallus an acrimonious retort, which Augustus replied to with still greater severity. As soon therefore as he withdrew, according to his custom, Gallus also departed, to spend the evening more agreeably in the company of Pomponius and other friends.

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## SCENE THE SECOND.

### THE MORNING.

THE city hills were as yet unilluminated by the beams of the morning sun, and the uncertain twilight, which the saffron streaks in the east spread as harbingers of the coming day, was diffused but sparingly through the windows and courts into the apartments of the mansion. Gallus still lay buried in heavy sleep in his quiet chamber, the carefully chosen position of which both protected him against all disturbing noises, and prevented the early salute of the morning light from too soon breaking his repose<sup>1</sup>. But around all was life and activity: from the cells and chambers below, and the apartments on the upper floor, there poured a swarming multitude of slaves, who presently pervaded every corner of the house, hurrying to and fro, and cleaning and arranging with such busy alacrity, that one unacquainted with these customary movements, would have supposed that some grand festivity was at hand. A whole *decuria* of house-slaves, armed with besoms and sponges<sup>2</sup>, under the superintendence of the

<sup>1</sup> One thing that the Romans especially kept in view in planning their sleeping-apartments, was that their situation should be removed from all noise. Pliny, *Ep.* ii. 17, boasts of these qualities being possessed by a bed-chamber at his villa.

<sup>2</sup> The implements used for cleaning the floor, walls, ceilings, and furniture, were *scopæ*, besoms made of branches of the wild myrtle, *oxy-myrsine*, or the tamarisk, *Tamarix*

*Gallica*, Plin. xxiii. 9, 83, xvi. 26, 45, and sponges, *spongæ*. The latter were sometimes fastened to a long, and at others to a short staff, in which case they were called *peniculi*, which signifies sponges, and not brushes or hair-brooms. Terence, *Eun.* iv. 7, 7. This is the *infelix damnata spongia virgæ*, Mart. xii. 48, and the *arundo* of Plaut. *Stich.* ii. 2, 23. They were also used for cleaning shoes. Plaut. *Menæchm.* ii. 3, 40, ii. 2, 12. It appears doubtful whether they had not also similar contrivances made of

*atriensis*, began to clean the entrance rooms. Some inspected the *vestibulum*, to see whether any bold spider had spun its net during the night, on the capital of the pillars, or groups of statuary; and rubbed the gold and tortoise-shell ornaments of the folding-doors and posts at the entrance, and cleaned the dust of the previous day from the marble pavement<sup>3</sup>. Others again were busy in the *atrium* and its adjacent halls, carefully traversing the mosaic floor, and the paintings on the walls, with soft Lycian sponges<sup>4</sup>, lest any dust might have settled on the wax-varnish with which they were covered<sup>5</sup>; they also looked closely whether any spot appeared blackened by the smoke of the lamps; and then decked with fresh garlands<sup>6</sup> the busts and shields which supplied the place of the *imagines*<sup>7</sup>, or waxen masks of departed ancestors.

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bristles. We at least might infer this from the second diminutive *penicillus*, as they manufactured plasterers' washing-brushes of bristles. Plin. xxviii. 17, 71.

<sup>3</sup> The passages from which we have borrowed this description of the busy manner of cleaning the house, are Plaut. *Asin.* ii. 4, 18; *Stich.* ii. 2, 23; Juven. xiv. 60. For the explanation of all names, denoting parts of the house, see *The Roman House*, and for all referring to the slaves, *The Slave-family*, in the Appendix.

<sup>4</sup> Amongst sponges, the Punic or African, and the Rhodian, were much prized; but the softest came from the Lycian town, *Antiphellos*. Plin. ix. 45, 60, xxxi. ii.

<sup>5</sup> Many of the colours used by the ancients for wall-painting, as, for

instance, the *minium*, could not stand the effects of the light and atmosphere, and, to make them durable, a varnish of Punic wax, mixed with a little oil, was laid on the wall, when dry, with a paint-brush of bristles. See Vitruv. vii. 9, and Plin. xxxiii. 7, 40.

<sup>6</sup> Although the *stemmata*, which constituted the ancestral tree, could find no application here, still it was not unusual to crown with chaplets, even the portraits of strangers. Mart. x. 32.

<sup>7</sup> The beautiful custom of placing the *imagines majorum* in the *atria* or their *alæ*, must have lost more and more in significancy, and even grown obsolete, after so many who had neither *majores*, in that sense, nor any title whatever to such distinction—some of them being persons of



In the *carum ædium* or interior court, and the larger *peristyle*, more were engaged in rubbing with coarse linen cloths the polished pillars of Tenarian and Numidian marble<sup>8</sup>, which formed a most pleasing contrast to the intervening statues and the fresh green verdure of the vacant space within. No less were the Tricliniarch and his subordinates occupied in the larger saloons; where stood the costly tables of cedar-wood<sup>9</sup>, with pillars of ivory

the lowest class, and others even slaves—became very wealthy, assumed high-sounding names, and lived in magnificent edifices. And again, many who were entitled to *imagines*, found them, perhaps, too insignificant in appearance to consort with the magnificence of the rest of their dwelling. These *imagines* were waxen masks, formed after the life, *ceræ*, which those only had the right of setting up, who had borne a curule office, viz. from that of *ædile* upwards. Polyb. vi. 53. On the manner of arranging them, Vitruv. says, vi. 5, *Imagines item alie cum suis ornamentis ad latitudinem alarum sint constitutæ*. The *ornamenta* are clearly designated by Seneca *de Benef.* iii. 28; Plin. xxxv. 2, 2; Polyb. supra; Auct. *Eleg. ad Mess.* 30. The masks were kept in little presses, placed up against the wall, under which stood the name of the deceased, his honours and merits, *tituli*, Ovid. *Fast.* i. 591; and the several *imagines* were connected with one another by garlands; for Pliny's words, *stemma lineis discurrebant ad imagines pictas*, do not seem capable of any other than the literal meaning, and so likewise the *stemma flexura* of Seneca. These *stemma* were probably renewed on festive days, when the *armaria* were

opened. In the same way also the *imagines* received fresh crowns of laurel. It is evident from Pliny, that, at a later period, instead of the masks, *clypeatæ imagines*, as they were called, and busts were substituted. Those persons who had no images to boast of in their own family, and yet wished some such ornament for their *atrium*, had no course left but *alienas effigies colere*.

<sup>8</sup> The most valuable species of white marbles were the *Parian*, the *Pentelican*, and the *Hymettian*. Besides these there was that of Luna in Italy, now called Carrara marble.

Variegated marbles became afterwards more fashionable, and were brought not only from Greece, but even from Asia and Africa. The most precious sorts were the golden-yellow *Numidian*; that with red streaks, *Phrygian*, *Synnadic*, or *Mygdonian*; the *Tenarian*, or *Laconian*, or *verde antico*, a kind of green porphyry; and the *Carystian* with green veins. But even this natural variety was not sufficient for the demands of taste. In Nero's time veins and spots were artificially let into the coloured marble. Pliny, xxxv. 1.

<sup>9</sup> In no article of furniture was greater expense incurred than in the

supporting their massive orbs, which had, at an immense expense, been conveyed to Rome from the primeval woods of Atlas. Here the wood was like the beautiful dappled coat of a panther, there the spots, being more regular and close, imitated the tail of the peacock, a third resembled the luxuriant and tangled leaves of the *apium*, each of them more beautiful and valuable than the other; and many a lover of splendour would have bartered an estate for any one of the three. The *triclinarii* cautiously lifted up their purple covers<sup>10</sup>, and then whisked

tables; indeed the extravagance in this particular would be scarcely credible, did not the most trustworthy writers give us express information about it. The *orbes*, especially, cost immense sums of money: by this word *orbis*, is not to be understood always round tables, but massive slabs, or plates of wood, cut off the stem in its whole diameter. For this purpose the wood of the *citrus* was preferred above all others, by which we must not understand the citron-tree, but the *Thuja cypresoides*, *Θυϊα*, *Θύον*, as is evident from Pliny, xiii. 16, who expressly distinguishes it from the regular *citrus*. This tree was found especially in Mauritania (hence, *secti Atlantide silva orbes*, Luc. x. 144; Mart. xiv. 89,) and was of such magnitude as the citron-tree never attained to. Pliny, c. 15, mentions plates nearly four feet in diameter, which were cut off the trunk, of the thickness nearly of half a foot. Unlike other tables, they were not provided with several feet; but rested on an ivory column and were thence termed *Monopodia*. Liv. xxxix. 6; Mart. ii. 43, 9. The price of such tables was enormous.

Pliny relates that Cicero himself had paid for one, that was then still extant, 1,000,000 *sesterces*, and he mentions even more extraordinary cases. The most costly specimens were those cut off near the root, not only because the tree was broadest there, but on account of the wood being dappled and speckled. Pliny mentions, *tigrina*, *pantherina undatim crispa*, *pavonum cauda oculos imitantes*, *apiata mensa*. These tables however were too dear and not large enough to use at meals, although they did sometimes serve for this purpose. Mart. ix. 60, 9. Hence larger ones of common wood were made, and veneered with the wood of the citrus, and according to Pliny, even Tiberius used only such a one; xvi. 42, 48.

<sup>10</sup> The costly *citrea*, in order to protect them from injury, were covered with cloths of thick coarse linen, *gausape*. Mart. xiv. 138; Lemma, *Gausapa villosa*. They stood also thus in the shops of the dealers. Mart. ix. 60, 7. This *gausape* was frequently purple-coloured; it also served for dusters.

them over with the shaggy *gausape*, in order to remove any little dust that might have penetrated through. Next came the side-boards<sup>11</sup>, several of which stood against the walls in each saloon, for the purpose of displaying the gold and silver plate and other valuables. Some of them were slabs of marble, supported by silver or gilded ram's feet, or by the tips of the wings of two griffins looking in opposite directions; there was also one of artificial marble, which had been sawn out of the wall of a Grecian temple, while the slabs of the rest were of precious metal. The costly articles displayed on each were so selected as to be in keeping with the architectural designs of the apartment. In the *tetrastylus*, the simplest saloon, stood smooth silver vessels<sup>12</sup> unadorned by the *ars torentica*, except that the rims of most of the larger bowls were of gold<sup>13</sup>. Between these were

<sup>11</sup> The tables used at meals, or to display costly plate upon, were called *abaci*. Their use is quite clear from Cic. *Verr.* iv. 16; Plin. xxxvii. 2, 6. The plates of such tables were generally of marble, or imitations of it; sometimes of silver (Petr. 73), of a round or square form, and were probably provided with a raised rim, as we may conjecture from Vitruv. vii. 3, 10. Among the *abaci* belong also the *mensæ Delphicæ ex marmore*. Cic. *Verr.* iv. 59, and Mart. xii. 67: Aurum atque argentum non simplex Delphica portat.

It is uncertain whether the *δελφινίς τράπεζα* in Lucian, *Lexiph.* is the same. At all events an *abacus* is there meant. *Abaci* was also the name for the smooth spaces or panels between the stucco ornaments on the walls.

<sup>12</sup> The silver and golden utensils were either *pura*, (Plin. *Ep.* iii. 1; Juv. ix. 141; Mart. iv. 38; also *levia*, Juv. xiv. 62), or *calata*, *aspera*, *to-reumata*. The latter were doubtless not always from the hand of the artist whose name they bore, but it was the name more than the workmanship that enhanced their value.

<sup>13</sup> The *chrysendeta*, so often mentioned by Martial, are incorrectly explained to be drinking vessels; on the contrary, they were flat vessels for serving up the food; at least this is the only use to which they are applied by Mart. ii. 43, 11, xiv. 97. The name itself, and the designation *flava*, give rise to the supposition that they were silver vessels with a golden rim, perhaps only with inlaid gold-work. Paull. *Sent.* iii. 6, 8.

smaller vessels of amber, and two of great rarity; in one of which a bee, and in the other an ant, had found its transparent tomb<sup>14</sup>. On another side stood beakers of antique form, to which the names of their former possessors gave their value, and an historical importance<sup>15</sup>. There was, for instance, a double cup which Priam had inherited from Laomedon; another that had belonged to Nestor, unquestionably the same from which Hecamede had pledged the old man in Pramnian wine before Troy: the doves which served as handles<sup>16</sup>, were much worn, of course by Nestor's hand. Another again was the gift of Dido to Æneas, and in the centre stood an immense bowl, which Theseus had hurled against the face of Eurytus. But the most remarkable of all was a relic of the keel of the Argo<sup>17</sup>, only a chip, it is true; but who did not transport himself back to the olden days, when he saw before him and could feel this portion of the most ancient of ships, and on which perhaps Minerva

<sup>14</sup> See Mart. iv. 31, vi. 59. Vessels of amber, Juv. v. 38.

<sup>15</sup> If the passion for collecting objects curious on account of their antiquity, or from having belonged to some illustrious person, had not become prevalent in the time of Gallus, at all events it was not far off. This mania became still more ridiculous, when ignorance credited the grossest falsehoods and historical impossibilities. The instances we have mentioned are really recounted by Martial, viii. 6. But he also ridicules these *argenti fumosa stemmata*. The *archetypa* of Trimalchio are still more laughable. Petr. 52.

<sup>16</sup> *Iliad*, xi. 632, seq. Martial, or

the possessor of the goblet, no doubt had in his eye the passage of Homer which runs: *δοιαὶ δὲ πελειάδες ἀμφὶς ἑκαστον χρύσειαι νεμέθοντο*: and the Roman poet says: *Pollice de Pyliotrita columba nitet*.

<sup>17</sup> The ancients also had their relics, and looked with veneration on a chip of the Argo. Martial, who is so fond of ridiculing folly and credulous simplicity, speaks quite seriously (vii. 19) on the subject; but perhaps this valuable relic belonged to Domitian himself, or to some other patron of distinction, and the poet for this reason affected to credit the story. The ancients used also to collect natural specimens and other rarities.

herself had placed her hand. Gallus himself was far too enlightened to believe in the truth of these legends; but every one was not so free from prejudice as he, and it was also the fashion to collect such antiquities.

On the other hand, in the Corinthian saloon stood vessels of precious Corinthian bronze, whose worn handles and peculiar smell sufficiently announced their antiquity, together with two large golden drinking cups, on one of which were engraved scenes from the Iliad, on the other from the Odyssey<sup>18</sup>. Besides these there were smaller beakers and bowls composed of precious stones, either made of one piece only, and adorned with reliefs, or of several cameos united by settings of gold<sup>19</sup>. Genuine Murrhina vases<sup>20</sup> also, even at that time a riddle, and according to report imported from the recesses of Parthia<sup>21</sup>, were not wanting.

<sup>18</sup> The Corinthian brass, as it was called, was used in the manufacture of vessels which were sold for high prices. Respecting the composition of it, a secret which was lost even in the time of the ancients, see Plin. xxxiv. 2, 3, and Petron. 50, jokingly. Connoisseurs detected its genuineness by the peculiar odour it acquired by oxydation. Mart. ix. 60, 11. Beckmann even affirms that the money-changers had recourse to their noses to judge of the genuineness of the coins. The marks moreover of having been long in use, were not unobserved. Id. ix. 58.

<sup>19</sup> Two such beakers were in the possession of Nero, who on this account called them *scyphi Homerici*. Suet. Ner. 47. The *ποτήρια γραμματικά* in Lucian, *Lexiph.* p. 828, seem to denote something similar.

But in Athenæus, xi. p. 466, seq., vessels are thereby meant, with inscriptions which give the name of the possessors, as in Plaut. *Rud.* ii. 5, 21, the *urna literata* out of the temple of Venus.

<sup>20</sup> We must not believe that in every case where vessels of amethyst are mentioned, real precious stones are meant, though there were such also. We have only to call to mind the Mantuan vase, as it is called. Cic. *Verr.* iv. 27. Vessels ornamented with precious stones were much more frequent, *gemmis distincta*, or composed of a quantity of cameos set in gold, Appian, *Mithr.* 115, which are often mentioned by the later poets.

<sup>21</sup> It is plain from the vagueness with which the ancients express them-

The Egyptian saloon, however, surpassed the rest in magnificence. Not a single silver or golden vessel stood in it that was not made by the most celebrated *toreutæ*, and possessed a higher value from the beauty of its workmanship than from the costliness of its material<sup>22</sup>. There was a cup by the hand of Phidias, ornamented with fishes that seemed only to want water to enable them to swim; on another was a lizard by Mentor, and so exact a copy of nature, that the hand almost started back on touching it; then came a broad bowl, the handle of which was a ram with a golden fleece, more beautiful than that brought by Phryxus to Colchis, and upon it a dainty Cupid; the artist's name was unknown, but all were unanimous in thinking that Mys and Myron, Mentor and Polycletus, had equal claims to the honour of its construction. No less worthy of admiration were the ingenious works in glass, from Alexandria<sup>23</sup>; beakers and

selves about the *vasa murrhina*, that they were not quite clear about its substance. For with the exception of the much quoted passage of Prop. iv. 5, 26, there is no other which would not admit of a negative rather than a positive use. Hence there has been a great variety of opinion about the material from which they were composed. Many have declared the *murrha* to be natural stone. On the other hand, the opinion, chiefly based on Propertius, that it was Chinese porcelain, has met with numerous defenders. And this view of the subject appears to be the only admissible one, and agrees best with the majority of the passages on the subject; besides which, it receives considerable support from the assertion (if true) of Gell, that porcelain went by the

name of *Mirrha di Smyrna*, down to the middle of the sixteenth century.

<sup>22</sup> The most celebrated *Toreutæ*, Mys, Myron, Mentor, and even Phidias, had often to lend their names to the relieves cut on the vessels, though not always with any good reason for so doing. Mart. iv. 35, 41, vi. 92, viii. 51. Goblets by Mentor, who also imitated in metal the *pocula Thericlea*, were very highly esteemed. Plin. xxxiii. 11, 12.

<sup>23</sup> The ingeniously wrought objects in glass, for which Alexandria particularly was famed, appear to throw all the skill of the English and Bohemian glass-polishers completely into the shade. They knew as well

saucers of superb moulding, and imitating so naturally the tints of the amethyst and ruby, as completely to deceive the beholder; others shone like onyxes, and were cut in relief; but superior to all were some of the purest crystal, and uncoloured. Still there was one object which, on account of its ingenious construction, attracted more than any thing else the eyes of all spectators; it was a bowl of the colour of opal, surrounded at the distance of a fourth part of an inch by an azure net-work, carved out of the same piece as the vessel, and only connected with it by a few fine slips that had been left. Beneath the edge of the cup was written the following inscription; the letters were green, and projected in a similar manner, supported only by some delicate props; *Bibe, vivas multis annis*<sup>24</sup>. How many disappointments must the artist have experienced before

as we how to impart to the glass any colour they pleased, and make skilful imitations of precious stones. Plin. xxxvi. 26, 67; Comp. xxxvii. 7, 26, 6, 22, and this kind of coloured glass is no doubt often meant under the word *gemma*; e. g. the *amethystini trientes*. Mart. x. 49. To them belong also the variously shaded *alassontes*, (Vopisc. Saturn. 8), perhaps opal-glass, or something similar. The most valued however were the *crystallina*, of quite pure, white, and transparent glass. Plin. We must always therefore understand it of crystal glass, when *crystallina* or *crystalla* (Mart. ix. 23, xii. 74) are mentioned; and when we read (ix. 60, 13) of *turbata brevi crystallina vitro*, this must be supposed to be an impure, perhaps greenish, piece or place, as i. 54, 6, *aretinæ violant crystallina*

*testa*. They had also the secret of making glass of differently coloured layers joined together, which they then cut into cameos like the onyx. Plin. xxxvi. 26, 66. The renowned Barberini or Portland Vase, which was long considered a genuine sardonyx, is of this description.

<sup>24</sup> The vessel here described was discovered about the year 1725, and at the time Fea translated Winkelmann's *Hist. of the Arts*, was to be found in the collection of D. Carlo de' Marchesi Trivulsi. Such vessels were named *diatrete*, Mart. xii. 70, 9; Ulp. Dig. ix. 2, 27. On the other hand, *toreuma* (Mart. xi. 11, *tepidi toreumata Nili*, et passim) has a more extended signification, and may be referred particularly to the *cælata*. Comp. Martial, xiv. 115.

he accomplished the labour of making such a vessel, and what a price must Gallus have paid for it!

In the Cyzicenean saloon no such ornaments were to be seen; but the slaves had more work in cleaning the windows and window-frames, which reached to the ground, and in preventing the view from being obscured by dull places in the glass.

Whilst the mansion was being thus cleansed and adorned throughout, whilst the *dispensator* was busied in recasting the account of the receipts and expenditure during the last month, to be ready for his master's inspection, and the *cellarius* was reviewing his stock, and considering how much would supply the exigencies of the day, and the superior slaves were engaged, each with his allotted task—the *vestibulum* had already begun to be filled with a multitude of visitors, who came to pay their customary morning salutation to their patron. The persons who presented themselves not only differed in their grades, but also in the motives of their attendance<sup>25</sup>. Citizens of the inferior class, who received sup-

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<sup>25</sup> The custom of paying the morning compliments, *salutatio matutina*, to the patron, which had arisen out of the relations of the *clientela*, began towards the end of the republic to degenerate, and finally became a mere *opera mercenaria*. Not only the man of quality who was beloved, but also the undeserving, if a wealthy one, wished to see himself surrounded by an obsequious host of courtiers. He liked even to see them early before his house, and when he went abroad, to be escorted by them. Hence a number of persons who lived in Rome, used, for a pecuniary con-

sideration, to form the court, as it were, not of one, but of several persons of quality or wealth. Juven. i. 119. Many came to Rome from a distance, in hopes of obtaining such employment, as the *esuritor* Tuccius, ridiculed by Mart. iii. 7, who had come from Spain, and, upon hearing that the *sportula* yielded so little profit, turned back again at the Pons Mulvius, a little distance from Rome. In the same manner the poet enquires of Gargilianus, after the *sportulae* were done away with: *Quid Romæ facis? Unde tibi togula est et fuscae pensio cellæ?* These persons



port from the hand of Gallus; young men of family, who expected to make their fortunes through the favorite of Augustus; poor poets and idlers, who looked to a compensation for these early attentions, by a place at the board of Gallus, or contented themselves with a share of the diurnal *sportula*<sup>26</sup>; a few friends really attached to him from gratitude or affection; and, no doubt, some vain fellows, who felt so flattered at having admission to a house of distinction, that they disregarded the inconvenience of dancing attendance thus early before the door of their *dominus* or *rex*, and waited impatiently for the moment when they were to be admitted. For this was not the only visit of the kind they intended to make this morning; and there were some even with

used to go early in the morning (Mart. iv. 8) into the houses of their *domini* or *reges*, hurrying on from one to another. Senec. *de Brev. Vit.* 14. A disagreeable task, for the sake of a niggardly *sportula*, to endure daily, *discursus varios vagumque mane, et fastus et ave potentiorum*, (Mart. vii. 39), and to perform the part of the *anteambulo tumidi regis*. Comp. x. 74, iii. 46. Many who received the *salutatio* of their clients, performed in turn the part of *salutator* to others, and took the *sportula* with them. Juvenal, i. 117; Mart. ii. 18, x. 10, xii. 26.

<sup>26</sup> The question as to what the *sportula* properly consisted of, has been much discussed. From the manner in which it is opposed to the *cæna recta*, it is probable, that originally food was actually doled out in baskets. In later times it was, as Martial says in many places, one hundred farthings, although many

persons gave a much more considerable *sportula*. Thus we read in the same poet, ix. 101 :

Denariis tribus invitas, et mane togatum,  
Observare jubes atria, Basse, tua.

And x. 27 :

Et tua tricenos largitur sportula nummos.

This was, according to the old value, 300 *quadrantes*, or  $7\frac{1}{2}$  *denarii*. Comp. viii. 42. The *sportula* was taken away in the evening, by those who had in the morning paid the *rex* their *opera togata*. Mart. x. 70, 13. Whether, however, as Buttmann supposes, this money was actually doled out in little baskets, *sportella*, is very dubious; and probably it was only the name of the ancient custom, that had been transferred to this distribution of money. But it seems certain that as soon as the *salutatio* had been omitted, or the other duties of the client neglected, the *sportula* also ceased to be forthcoming. Mart. ix. 86.

whom this made the second or third door visited already. As soon therefore as the *ostiarius* let them in, each one pressed forward to the *atrium*, or became lost to view in the colonnades, beguiling the interval with gazing about them, and conversing with one another.

Meanwhile Gallus had risen from his couch, though later than he usually did: he was not however inclined to receive the crowd of visitors, about whom he was perfectly indifferent; accordingly the *nomenclator*, who had already arranged the order of those who were to be introduced, was instructed to say, that his lord was indisposed, and would not make his appearance to-day<sup>27</sup>. At the same time he was ordered, if Pomponius, or any other intimate friends called, to admit them into the *cubiculum*; but all other visits were to be declined.

The throng had long taken its departure, when towards the end of the second hour of the day, Pomponius arrived. He was a man near upon forty: his hollow but gleaming eye, his pale and sunken cheeks, the half sensual, half scornful expression about his mouth, as well as the negligent folds of his voluminous *toga*, at once pointed him out as one of those dissipated men, who are accustomed to riot all night in wild revelry and forbidden gambling, or in the orgies of the Subura. Although of distinguished parentage, and left heir to a fortune of nearly two millions of *sesterces*, yet usurers and harlots had long ago sung the dirge of his patrimony<sup>28</sup>. Instead

<sup>27</sup> That this sometimes took place is in itself natural, and may be gathered from Cic. *Verr.* iii. 4; and Mart. ix. 8.

<sup>28</sup> Thus Plautus, *Truc.* ii. 1, 3, says: *Huic homini amanti mea hera apud nos dixit nœniam de bonis.*

of his parental mansion, he now inhabited a lodging near the Tiber, hired for three thousand *sesterces*, while his attendants were limited to a few shabby slaves. Household stores he had none : his bread, and wine fresh from the vat, were brought from the nearest tavern<sup>29</sup>. Notwithstanding, however, he possessed sufficient wit and intelligence to make him welcome even in the best circles. An adept in every kind of amusement, ever ready to enter into any jovial scheme, and fully acquainted with the ways and means of insuring its success; unequalled, besides, as a director of a feast, and a perfect connoisseur in wines and dishes, he managed to make people forget the less recommendatory points in his character, and (which was an enigma to many) was not excluded from the table even of Augustus. He had in like manner, by his pleasantry and merry disposition, and by a thousand little kindnesses, and, as it seemed too, by some graver tokens of genuine friendship, contrived to become indispensable to the free-living Gallus. It is true that the cautious Chresimus was not the only one who shook his head at this : and some affirmed, that before the recall of Gallus to Rome, Pomponius had lived in familiar intercourse with Lycoris, and that he had sworn to effect his downfall in revenge for being supplanted by him. It was certain that he had of late been a most intimate associate of Largus, from whom it was surmised that he received considerable pecuniary aid ; but on the other hand, Pomponius had himself concerted measures with Gallus for gaining

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<sup>29</sup> The description is borrowed from Cic. *in Pis.* 27. 3000 *HS.* or £24. was the rent paid also by Sulla, before he arrived at wealth and

power. Plut. *Sulla*, l. For more about the price of hired lodgings, and the houses themselves, see Meierotto, ii. p. 104, seqq.

the confidence of his most dangerous foe, and thus becoming apprised of any peril that might threaten him, and had moreover frequently warned him about the other's plans. How then could Gallus take the cautions which reached him for any thing else than empty fears and calumnies?

Two other men had entered at the same time as Pomponius, so different in manner, thoughts, and actions, that it required all the versatility their companion was gifted with, to fill up the chasm between them. Lentulus, young, vain, and wealthy, was the exact prototype of those well-dressed, self-sufficient, shallow young men of our own day, so graphically described by a modern French author, as being *belles bourses d'étalage : qu'y a-t-il au fond ? du vide*<sup>30</sup>. No one dressed with more care, or arranged his hair in more elegant locks, or diffused around him such a scent of cassia and stakte, nard and balsam. No one was better acquainted with the latest news of the city : who were betrothed yesterday, who was Caius' newest mistress, why Titus had procured a divorce, on whom Næera had closed her doors. The whole business of his day consisted in philandering about the toilets of the ladies, or strolling through the colonnades of Pompeius, or the almost completed Septa, humming Alexandrian or Gaditanian songs, or, at most, in reading or writing a love epistle : in short, he was a complete specimen of what the Romans contemptuously called *bellus homo*<sup>31</sup>. It can be easily imagined that Gallus was not very anxious for the society of such a person ; but Pom-

<sup>30</sup> L. Desnoyers, *Les Bèotiens de Paris*, Livre des Cent et un, iii. p. 61.

<sup>31</sup> See Martial, iii. 63.

ponius saw only that Lentulus was rich, that few gave better dinners, and besides, he liked his folly, which often served as a butt for his own wit and sarcasms.

What a strong contrast to this smooth coxcomb was Calpurnius! whose lofty stature and manly bearing, free alike from stiffness and negligence, commanded respect; while the simple throw, and scanty gatherings of his *toga*, in the highly drawn up *sinus* of which his right arm rested, reminded one of the orators of the republic. In his dark eyes, overshadowed by lofty brows, there glowed a tranquil fire, and if you watched at the same time the earnest folds of his forehead and the bitter curl of his lips, you almost believed that you saw before you one who had fallen out with fate, or meditated revenge.

‘Welcome, friends!’ cried Gallus, as they entered the peristyle, where according to custom he was enjoying the fresh morning air. ‘And you too, Lentulus? What, are you not afraid, lest the dampness of the morning air should destroy the ingenious edifice of your locks?’

‘Joke away!’ replied Lentulus, ‘who knows whether I live not happier under it than ye do in many a new state fabric, built only in your thoughts? But enough of that. I will leave you directly to your momentous consultations, and only come now to propose that we should not breakfast with you to-day, as we agreed yesterday, but that you come instead to my house. Not merely for the sake of the excellent oysters that I received this morning from the Lucrine lake<sup>32</sup>,

<sup>32</sup> Sergius Orata had, in the time of Crassus, discovered that the Lucrine oysters were to be preferred in

flavour to all others. Plin. ix. 54; Hor. *Epod.* ii. 49.

and the splendid *rhombus* sent me yesterday from Ravenna<sup>23</sup>—these would at most be an attraction for Pomponius alone—but for the purpose of admiring a work of art of surpassing grace and beauty. You know Issa, Terentia's lap-dog<sup>24</sup>? I have had the little imp painted, sweetly reposing upon a soft cushion: it was only finished yesterday, and the illusion is, I assure you, complete. Place it by the side of the delicate little animal, and you will think either that both are painted, or both alive.' Gallus laughed loudly at this enthusiasm about a lap-dog, and even in the visage of Calpurnius, a smile gradually got the better of his scowl. 'I believe you, my Lentulus,' replied the first; 'and it grieveth me to be able neither to make acquaintance with the Lucrine or Ravennan strangers, nor to enjoy the high artistic treat. Cogent reasons have induced me to spend a few weeks in the country, and I have just determined to set off this morning.'

'Into the country? To the villa?' cried Pomponius and Calpurnius, in astonishment, whilst Lentulus affectedly supported his chin with his left hand.—'So it is,' said Gallus, 'and I had already ordered my slave to make my apologies for not breakfasting with you, and to invite you to my villa instead.'

<sup>23</sup> The *rhombus*, turbot, a most favourite fish with the Romans, was procured best in Ravenna. Plin. sup.

<sup>24</sup> The *delicia* of the Roman ladies are known through the *passer* of Lesbia, and the parrot of Corinna. The *Issa* here mentioned belongs, it is true, to another period, and to no lady, but to the painter Publius, who

had painted her for himself. Mart. i. 110. The same poet, viii. 87, names as such favourite objects, *bubo*, *catella*, *cercopithecus*, *ichneumon*, *pica*, *draco*, *lusciniæ*. The lap-dog of the lady was naturally an object of tender blandishment to the lover. Indeed this is enjoined by Cleæreta. Plaut. *Asin.* i. 3, 32.

‘Well, well, if such be the case,’ said Lentulus, ‘I have nothing to do, but wish you a pleasant journey thither. But I make one condition, that you take your first meal at my house after your return. I am only sorry that you will not see Issa, for this very day will Terentia receive this proof of my affection.’ Having thus said, he sped away through the halls and *atrium*, carefully avoiding the busy slaves, lest they should soil the snowy whiteness of his garments, and hastened to arrange the breakfast: since Pomponius, at all events, would not forget the Lucrine oysters and the *rhombus*.

‘So to Capua, then?’ said Pomponius, musingly, after the other’s departure; and he appeared to be occupied with other thoughts than Lentulus’ invitation.

‘Into the lap of enjoyment and idleness!’ put in Calpurnius gloomily.

‘And Lycoris?’ asked Pomponius inquiringly, whilst he involuntarily held his nether lip between his teeth.

‘Will grant my request, I hope, and spend these weeks in Baia.’

‘And the fine plans of yesterday?’ interrupted Calpurnius, ‘are we children, that we swear death to the tyrant, and within twelve hours afterwards quietly repose on the soft pillow of pleasure and voluptuousness?’

‘Calpurnius,’ said Gallus earnestly, ‘the incautious expressions cajoled from the tongue by the Setinian wine must not be interpreted too literally the next morning. I have, it is true, been grievously insulted, and by the very man from whose hand I received all my fortune; but I will never forget what is due to gratitude, and for the same reason, that I feel how easily I can be provoked, I will withdraw into the retirement of the country for a

while. Virgil and Propertius have already left Rome to enjoy the charms of nature, and I too pine for a more simple way of life.'

'He is right,' cried Pomponius, as if awaking from a dream, 'he is right;'—while Calpurnius, turning away his head, bit his lip. 'He will thus best shew that he has no desire to take part in any movement that may be made, and he leaves true friends behind him to avert any danger that may threaten him in his absence. But since the hour of departure is so near, his time must be precious, Calpurnius. Let us therefore now depart. Farewell, Gallus! happy omen be thy speed!' With this he went, forcing the silent Calpurnius away.

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## SCENE THE THIRD.

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### STUDIES AND LETTERS.

GALLUS had for some time past kept as much as possible aloof from the disquieting labours of public life, and had been accustomed to divide his time between the pleasures of the table and of love, the society of friends, and the pursuit of his studies, serious as well as cheerful<sup>1</sup>. On the present occasion also, after his friends had departed, he withdrew into the chamber, where he used daily to spend the later hours of the morning, in converse with the great spirits of ancient Greece—a pursuit animating and refreshing alike to heart and soul—or to yield himself up to the sport of his own muse. For this reason, this apartment lay far removed from the noisy din of the street, so that neither the rattling of the creaking wains and the stimulating cry of the mule-driver, nor the clarions and dirge of the pompous funeral, and the brawlings of the slaves<sup>2</sup> hurrying busily along, could penetrate it. A

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<sup>1</sup> In this description of the mode of life to which Gallus, after a long continuance of active exertion, had resigned himself, reference has been principally had to Cic. *Fam.* ix. 20. No doubt this Epicurism would assume a different form in Gallus from that of Cicero, yet the latter's account of his morning occupations can very well be transferred to Gallus. In the retirement of country-life, (Plin. *Ep.* ix. 9, 36), there was no doubt more likelihood of such quiet enjoyment than amid the manifold interruptions of the bustling metropolis, which Pliny describes, *Ep.* i. 9. So also

Hor. *Epist.* ii. 2, 65, seqq. Even at the country house many were subjected to the solicitations of the neighbours. Plin. *Ep.* ix. 15.

<sup>2</sup> The characteristic bustle of the slaves, as they ran along the street, is well known from comic writers, and *currentes* is their peculiar epithet. Terence, *Eun. Prol.* 36; *Heaut. Prol.* 31. Examples occur in almost every one of the comedies of Plautus. So hasty a pace was not however becoming to a respectable free-man. Plautus, *Pæn.* iii. 1, 19.

lofty window, through which shone the light of the early morning sun, pleasantly illuminated from above the moderate-sized apartment, the walls of which were adorned with elegant arabesques in light colours, and between them, on darker grounds, the luxurious forms of attractive dancing girls were seen sweeping spirit-like along<sup>3</sup>. A neat couch, faced with tortoise-shell and hung with Babylonian tapestry of various colours—by the side of which was the *scrinium*<sup>4</sup> containing the poet's elegies, which

<sup>3</sup> Among the antique fresco-paintings found at Pompeii and Herculaneum, twelve dancing girls, about a span in height, and gliding along on a gold ground, and four centaurs, each grouped in the most exquisite manner, with another figure painted on a black ground, are of peculiar grace and beauty.

<sup>4</sup> The form of the books naturally dictated the shape of the cases containing them; they were cylindrical or round, greater or smaller, according as they were designed to hold one or many rolls; generally perhaps of wood, on account of its lightness.

Pliny, xvi. 43, 84. *Capsæ*, or *scrinia*, is the name of the cases, and when Pliny distinguishes them, he perhaps, under the latter term, understands the larger ones. See Böttig. *Sab.* i. p. 102; *Mart.* i. 3. *Scrinia da magnis; me manus una capit*; or because in the *scrinia*, only books, letters, and other writings were preserved, but in the *capsules*, other things also. *Plin.* xv. 17, 18; *Mart.* xi. 8. They are not unfrequently to be found along with Roman statues clad in the *toga*. See *Augusteum*, iii. *Tab.* 97 and 99. The following engraving represents an open *scrinium*, with six rolls, copied from an antique



were as yet unknown to the majority of the public, and a small table of cedar wood, on goat's-feet of bronze, comprised the whole of the *supellex*.

Immediately adjoining this apartment was the library, full of the most precious treasures acquired by Gallus, chiefly in Alexandria. There, in presses of cedar-wood, placed round the walls, lay the rolls, partly of parchment, and partly of the finest Egyptian *papyrus*, each supplied with a label, on which was seen in bright red letters, the name of the author and title of the book. Above these again were ranged the busts, in bronze or marble, of the most renowned writers, an entirely novel ornament for libraries, first introduced into Rome by Asinius Pollio, who perhaps had only borrowed it from the libraries of Pergamus and Alexandria. True, only the chief representatives of each separate branch of literature were to be found in the narrow space available for them; but to compensate for this, there were several rolls which contained the portraits of seven hundred remarkable men. These were the hebdomades or peplography of Varro, who by means of a new and much-valued invention<sup>5</sup>,

painting in Gell's *Pompeiana*. When a Roman had need of documents in public business, his *scrinium* was carried after him by a slave, and children of quality were accompanied to school by a *capsarius*. At other times its most natural position was beside the *lectus*, in the *cubiculum*. Plin. *Ep.* v. 5. Although *custodes scriniorum* were kept on purpose, still it is not unlikely that they (*scrinia*) were sealed, especially when important documents were deposited in them. Martial, i. 67.

<sup>5</sup> The question what the *benignissimum Varronis inventum* was, has been lately revived. The chief passage in Pliny, xxxv. 2, thereupon, is certainly in a tone of eulogy, and terms expressive of admiration. It was an iconography, unquestionably the same book that Cicero, *ad Attic.* xvi. 11, calls *Πεπλογραφίαν* Varronis, and that bore the name *Hebdomades*; but opinions are divided as to wherein consisted its novelty and remarkableness. Brotier, Falconnet, and Visconti, suppose that they were drawings on parchment or

was enabled in an easy manner to multiply the collection of his portraits, and so to spread copies of them, with short biographical notices of the men, through the whole learned world.

canvas. On the other hand, de Pauw perceived that it was an invention for the multiplication of the portraits, and hence believes that it was copper-plate engraving, which Outfr. Müller considers most probably to have been the case. Quatremère de Quincy sets up a similar hypothesis, which however rests on a very insecure basis. The chief points of this hypothesis, with which Raoul-Rochette also coincides, and which have been adopted in the *Revue des deux Mondes* are, that the *inventum Varronis* was a means of multiplying portraits; that Lala of Cyzikos furnished the designs, and engraved them on ivory; and that several tinted engravings of them were made on canvas, by means of several plates; but the last assumption rests on a pure misapprehension. Cicero names the work *Πεπλογραφίαν*, analogously to the *Panathenaic Peplos*. Aristotle named thus his genealogy of the Homeric heroes; the word therefore denotes nothing more than a gallery of remarkable persons. As for canvas, or any substance whatever, on which the pictures were painted, it is not to be thought of.

The other suppositions also appear very untenable. Though very much in the dark concerning the process with the *cestrum*, yet we know that it was a species of encaustic painting; but in no way an engraving: on the contrary, the drawing was to receive its tinted appearance on the ivory by this very process of burning in. Plin. xxxv. 11, 41. And it would

appear very strange if, for the purpose of engraving, they had taken such a fragile material as ivory, whilst copper or other durable metal presented itself.

Hence Letronne opposed this hypothesis; but the grammatical scruples that he raises are totally groundless. He denies that the invention consisted in a means of multiplying, and supposes painted portraits. But the words of Pliny are in manifest opposition to him; for besides that the epithet *benignissimum* conveys the idea of communication and common utility, Pliny also expressly says: *verum etiam in omnes terras misit, ut presentes esse ubique possent*. It is therefore evident that he speaks of numerous copies; and besides this, he says: *non nominibus tantum septingentorum illustrium, sed et aliquo modo imaginibus*, and gives us clearly to understand that they were no regular portraits. Still it is to be doubted whether it could have been an engraving, on a plate of copper, or any other metal, as such an invention would have been of the utmost moment, and would scarcely have been so transitory, and Pliny would hardly have passed over the technical part of this new branch in the art of design.

Perhaps these *aliquo modo imagines* were portraits done Silhouette-fashion, or painted by means of shab-loons, or something similar; for it can hardly be supposed that they were executed in colours, as in the oriental painting, as it is called. Whether,

On the other side of the library was a larger room, in which a number of learned slaves were occupied in transcribing, with nimble hand, the works of illustrious Greek and the more ancient Roman authors, both for the supply of the library, and for the use of those friends to whom Gallus obligingly communicated his literary treasures. Others were engaged in giving the rolls the most agreeable exterior, in gluing the separate strips of *papyrus* together, drawing the red lines, which divided the different columns, and writing the title in the same colour; in smoothing with pumice stone and blackening the edges; fastening ivory tops on the sticks round which the rolls were wrapped, and dyeing bright red or yellow the parchment which was to serve as a wrapper.

Gallus, with Chresimus, entered the study, where the freedman, of whom he was used to avail himself in his studies<sup>6</sup>, to make remarks on what was read, to note down particular passages, or to commit to paper his own poetical effusions, as they escaped him, was already awaiting him. After giving Chresimus further instruc-

when wall-painting at a later period became so general, this contrivance may have been made use of in a set of uniform arabesques, must be answered in the negative. Though it would not be impossible; for even in the *good times* of art, they used to bethink themselves of methods of abbreviating labour (*compendiarias*), Plin. xxxv. 10, 36. And perhaps we might refer to this the words of Petronius, c. 2, where he speaks of the decline of the art of oratory and painting. But in that case it would be strange if repetitions of the same paintings were not to be found at Herculaneum and Pompeii.

<sup>6</sup> Among the *librarii* were some who were made use of in studying, for the purpose of extracting and noting down remarks, *a studiis*. Orelli, *Inscr.* 719; Suet. *Claud.* 28. We see clearly what their business was from a letter of the young Cicero, *Fam.* xvi. 21. Best adapted for this purpose were the *notarii*, *ταχυγράφοι*, *σημειογράφοι*, who wrote by means of marks, *διὰ σημείων*—the shorthand writers of antiquity, unexcelled perhaps in facility even by the moderns. The thing indeed is older than the name. Cicero (*ad Attic.* xiii. 21) does not appear to allude to a secret cipher-writing, although Gel-

tions to make the necessary preparations for an immediate journey, he reclined, in his accustomed manner, on his studying couch, supported on his left arm, his right knee being drawn up somewhat higher than the other, in order to place on it his book or tablets'. 'Give me that roll of poetry of mine, Phædrus,' said he to the freedman; 'I will not set out till I have sent the book finished to the bookseller. I certainly do not much desire to be sold in the Argiletan taverns for five denarii, and find my name hung up on the doors, and not always in the best company; but Secundus worries me for it, and therefore be it so.' 'He understands his advantage,' said Phædrus, as he drew forth the roll from the cedar-wood chest. 'I wager, his scribes will have nothing else to do for months, but copy off your Elegies and Epigrams, and you will be rewarded with the applause poured upon them not by Rome only, nor by Italy, but by the world.'

'Who knows?' said Gallus. 'It is always hazardous to give to the opinion of the public that which was only written for a narrow circle of tried friends: and

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lius, xvii. 9, speaking of the correspondence between Cæsar, Oppius, and Balbus, mentions something of the kind. Later, the marks which the *notarii* made use of, were certainly far simpler than the *nota tiro-niana*. Mart. xiv. 208; Seneca, *Epist.* 90; and *Manil.* iv. 197, seqq.

<sup>7</sup> As Böttiger, *Sab.* i. p. 35, has remarked, writing-desks, with stools to sit on and study, were unknown to the ancients; but they used to meditate, read, or write, reclining on the *lectus*, or *lectulus*, or *lectulus lucu-*

*bratorius*, or *lectica luc.* Suet. *Aug.* 78; Ovid. *Trist.* i. 11, 37; Seneca, *Epist.* 72. The *habitus studentis*, as Pliny calls it, was such that a person, almost as in the *triclinium*, rested on the left arm, drawing up at the same time the right leg, in order to lay the book on it, or to write, but they may also have had contrivances for the convenience of writing, on the edge of the *lectulus*. Persius, i. 106; Juven. ii. 7. In a *cubiculum* of the villa Laurentina, Pliny had, beside the *lectus*, two arm-chairs or *cathedrae*.

our public is so very capricious ; for one I am too cold, for another I speak too much of Lycoris ; my Epigrams are too long for a third<sup>8</sup> ; and then there are those grammarians, who impute to me the blunders which the copyist in his hurry has committed<sup>9</sup>. But look !' continued he, as he unfolded the roll, 'there is just room left before we get to the *umbilicus*, for a small poem on which I meditated this morning when walking to and fro in the peristyle. It is somewhat hurriedly thrown off, I grant, and its jocular tone is not exactly in keeping with the last elegy. Perhaps they will say, I had done better to leave it out, but its contents are the best proof of its unassumingness ; why, therefore, should I not let the joke stand ? Listen then, and write.'

Phædrus here was about taking the roll. 'No,' said Gallus, 'the time before our departure is too brief. Take style and tablet, write with abbreviations, and insert it afterwards whilst I am dictating a few letters.' Phædrus obeyed, sat down on the foot of the bed, and wrote as follows to his master's dictation :

#### TO MY BOOK.

Fond book ! why, uninvited, haste to roam  
 Abroad, while thou may'st safely stay at home ?  
 E'en among friends thou'lt earn but doubtful praise,  
 What madness then to brave the world's proud gaze,  
 And nostril curl'd and supercilious sneer !  
 Of spiteful critic's pen to be in fear !—  
 What ! tho' no gross plebeian form be thine,  
 Though trac'd with cunning hand thy letters shine ;

<sup>8</sup> Martial had to bear this imputation more than once. See ii. 77, iii. 83, vi. 65.

<sup>9</sup> Martial, ii. 8. See Appendix ; art. *The Bookseller*.

Though Tyrian purple veil thy page of snow,  
 And painted knobs o'er thy black edges glow,  
 Dost hope by this to please book-learned wights?  
 To grace the shelves of Phœbus' satellites?  
 Be carried in the bosom, praised, caress'd,  
 And read by all the world from east to west?  
 Vain hope! thy beauty's pride, thy swelling roll,  
 A smoky kitchen is their destined goal.  
 Or else to greasy taverns thou'lt be borne,  
 Then, greas'd thyself, with filthy wares return.  
 I've seen (prodigious fate, but no less true)  
 Your Ciceros, extoll'd beyond their due,  
 To pepper-pokes consign'd, and bags for salt,  
 Not *Attic*: that they lack'd—their only fault—  
 Or sprats enclosed within their humid leaves;  
 Sprats! or whate'er the dirty cook receives.  
 Warn'd by such great examples, shun their fate,  
 Nor learn discretion at so dear a rate<sup>10</sup>.

<sup>10</sup> The original of this translation runs as follows :

Quo properas, insane liber? male nota quid  
 hospes

Tecta subis, tuto cui licet esse domi?

Quis furor est, populi tumidis opponere  
 rhonchis,

Ah! vereor, sociis vix placitura viris?

Contentumque pati, nasoque ferociter unco  
 Suspendi, et tristes extimuisse notas?

An quia plebeiam vincit tua charta papy-  
 rum,

Et nitet artificii litera facta manu;

Candida quod Tyrio velatur pagina fuceo,

Pictaque nigranti cornua fronte geris;

Scrinia Phœbeæ speras habitare catervæ,

Et fieri doctis carior inde viris?

Gestarique sinu belle, lepidusque vocari

Forſitan, et toto plurimus orbe legi?

Nequidquam, heu! forma tumidum, cultu-  
 que superbum

Accipiet fumo nigra culina suo.

Mercibus aut unctas migrabis, culte, taber-  
 nas,

Ut referas merces unctus et ipse domum

Vidimus elatos nimium, meritisque feroces—

Vera loquor, quamquam prodigiosa lo-  
 quor—

Aut salis, aut piperis Cicerones esse cucullos,

Quodque aberat scriptis sal tamen intus  
 erat.

Cordylæque fere madida latuere papyro,

Quidquid et immundi poscit opella coqui.

Si sapias, exemplis monitus, liber, utere tantis,

Et proprio noli cautior esse malo.

Ventis verba cadunt. Pugnas tamen ire?  
 licebit.

I, fuge, sed læsus parce, libelle, queri.

The joke here indulged in, of palming this sportive effusion on Gallus, must not be mistaken, or considered presumptuous. Such a *vou-theria* would in itself be nothing uncommon, for Horace, i. 17, 11, speaks to his book in a similar manner, and in Martial more such warnings are to be found. I cannot here omit a remark or two, in defence of the text. In v. 3, I have had in my eye Virg. *Æn.* ii. 127, *recusat quemquam opponere morti*, and am of opinion that from thence Propert. i. 17, 11, is also to be amended :

An poteris siccis mea fata reponere ocellis,  
 Ossaque nulla tuo nostra tenere sinu?



Phædrus had written with all possible rapidity; and from his countenance it was not easy to discover his opinion of this apostrophe. He then departed to copy the poem more intelligibly on the roll, and to send thither Philodamus, whom his master generally employed to write his letters; equally acquainted with both languages, he used, in most instances, to discharge the duties of the Greek and Latin correspondent, and particularly when the contents of the letters made a confidential scribe necessary. To-day, however, this was not the case; for Gallus only wished some short friendly letters, which contained no secrets, to be written. Philodamus brought the style, the wooden tablets coated over with wax, and what was requisite for sealing the letters; took the seat of Phædrus, and set down with expert hand the short sentences which Gallus dictated. Notifications of his departure to his friends; invitations to them to visit him at his villa; approval of a purchase of some statues and pictures, which a friend in Athens had made for him<sup>11</sup>; recommendations of a friend to another in Alexandria; such were the

Here the *Cod. optimus Posthianus*, or *Groninganus*, has *opponere*, and so I believe the proper reading to be: *me fato opponere*, for that is the only idea suitable. To take *reponere fata*, for *componere funus* or *ossa*, is quite impossible, because Propertius does not hope for a burial. But Cynthia is mentioned as the cause of his calamity, through her *diræ*. Should one, however, be offended at the *opponere rhonchis*, he can instead of it (*si tanti est*) read *committere*. No body can refer the apparent attack on Cicero to anything else than useless editions, such as the last century produced in abundance.

<sup>11</sup> Cicero writes in a different sense (*ad Fam.* vii. 23) to Fabius Gallus, half in joke, half in anger, respecting such a purchase. The whole letter is very instructive, and the words, *Tu autem, ignarus instituti mei, quanti ego genus omnino signorum omnium non aestimo tanti ista quatuor aut quinque sumpsi*, fully characterize Cicero's love of art. The object represented was every thing to him, and his *Hermathenæ* and *Hermæra-kle*, were of more value in his eyes than the most charming *Baccha*, by the master hand of a Greek. See *Attic.* i. 4, 10.

quickly dispatched subjects of the day's correspondence. Gallus then himself took style and tablets, to write with his own hand some tender words to Lycoris, and induce her to follow him, not indeed to his villa—for he felt too well that a liaison of this description could only be lasting, whilst distance allowed his imagination to decorate reality in its bright colours, and that by living together under the same roof, all the charm and poetry of love would be destroyed. For this reason, he proposed that she should go to Baiæ, and doubted not to see his desire accomplished; as the cheerful bustle of that much visited watering place promised pleasure in abundance; while the near proximity of his villa, gave hopes of their being able to visit each other frequently. Many men would no doubt have felt scruples about sending their loved ones thither, where there existed temptations of all kinds, sufficient almost to seduce one of severer virtue than such a flighty *libertina*; but Gallus knew Lycoris too well; she had only once in past times been unfaithful to him<sup>12</sup>, and perhaps the fault then was more on his side than on hers.

He read over once more the letters which Philodamus had written; the slave then fastened the tablets together with crossed thread, and where the ends were knotted, placed a round piece of wax; while Gallus drew from his finger a beautiful beryl, on which was engraved by the hand of Dioscorides, a lion driven by four amoretts, breathed on it, to prevent the tenacious wax from adhering to it<sup>13</sup>, and then impressed it deeply into the

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<sup>12</sup> A want of faith rendered famous by the tenth *Eclogue* of Virgil, which bears the name of Gallus: the *solliciti amores Galli*, as Virgil says.

<sup>13</sup> There is a peculiar interest in tracing these minute resemblances between the customs of the ancients and ourselves, though such agreement is

pliant mass. Meanwhile Philodamus had summoned the *tabellarii*, or slaves used for conveying letters. Each of them received a letter; but that destined for Athens was about to be entrusted to a friend journeying thither.

Scarcely were these matters well concluded, when the slave entered who had charge of the time-pieces, and announced that the finger of the dial was now casting its shadow upon the fourth hour, and that the fifth was about to commence. This was the time that Gallus had fixed for departure; he therefore hastened to leave the apartment, and allow himself to be assisted in his travelling toilet by the slaves in attendance for this purpose.

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only natural. We too breathe on the ring before sealing with it. Ovid says, *Amor.* i. 15, 16, were he the ring of his love:

Idem ego, ut arcanas possem signare tabellas,  
Neve tenax ceram siccare gemma trahat,  
Humida formosæ tangam prius ora puellæ.

These are, in point of fact, trifles;

but the more the error of supposing the life of the ancients quite different from our own is indulged in, the more are such minute customs to be brought forward, in order, that by instituting a comparison between them, we may bring those times nearer to our own.

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## SCENE THE FOURTH.

### THE JOURNEY.

GALLUS had to go a considerable distance through the streets after leaving his mansion, before he reached the Porta Capena, from which point he was about to journey along the Via Appia<sup>1</sup> to his villa, a most charm-

<sup>1</sup> The most celebrated road of Italy, Via Appia, which excited the admiration even of those times, and the remains of which have always been objects of wonder, called by Stat. *Silv.* ii. 2, 12, *regina viarum*, was first made from Rome to Capua, by Appius Claudius Cæcus, about 442, A. U. C. Procopius, who was an eye-witness, struck with astonishment at the magnificence of the work, gives a description of it, *de Bello Goth.* i. 14. The main points of which are, that the Appian way was made by Appius, five days' journey in length, as it reached from Rome to Capua, that it was broad enough for two carriages to pass each other. It was built of stone, such as is used for mill-stones, but which was not found in the neighbourhood. The stones are hewn sharp and smooth, and their corners fit into one another without the aid of metal, or any other connecting material, so that the whole appears to be one natural stone, and notwithstanding the great traffic, it is in a wonderful state of preservation. Procopius assigns to it the age of 900 years, which is at least fifty years too much. It is most remarkable that he should confine the Appian way to the distance between Rome and Capua, for though Appius Claudius had only built it to that place, still it

was afterwards continued as far as Brundisium. All accounts on the date of this extension appear to be wanting, and in their absence the most various suppositions have been made. Bergier thinks that this was done by Julius Cæsar, although he gives no tenable ground for this supposition, and appears quite in error about the direction of the road. On the other hand, Pratilli asserts that it must have been continued very soon after Appius, and reached to Brundisium as early as the civil war between Cæsar and Pompey, in proof of which he adduces a letter from Pompey, (in Cic. *Attic.* viii. 11), in which he writes thus to Cicero : *Censeo via Appia iter facias, et celeriter Brundisium venias.*

It is necessary that we should be clear about the direction of the Via Appia, before we can form any opinion of the period when it was continued further. It went from Rome by Bovillæ, Aricia, Forum Appii, Terracina, Fundi, Formiæ, Minturnæ, and Sinuessa to Capua, and from thence to Beneventum; of this there is no doubt. Bergier supposes that it proceeded from thence by Canusium to the sea-coast, and along it, by Barium, and Egnatia, and as Horace travelled this way with Mæcenas to Brundisium, that the Via Appia

ing place between Sinuessa and Capua, and which presented the most perfect assemblage of all things necessary, in order, as Horace observes, to quaff happy oblivion of the disturbing cares of life. The litter, manned with six stalwart Syrian slaves, whose light-red livery distinguished them from the rest of the escort, who were dressed in brown travelling coats, was already in waiting at the Vestibule. The carriage in which Gallus

must at least, at this period, have been extended as far as there. But the premises of this conclusion are false, for, as Pratilli has demonstrated, the road leading along the coast was not the Appian. From Strabo (v. 3 and vi. 3) we learn that this more eastern road, was not named the Appian, which only applied to the more western one, which led by way of Venusia. The opinion of Bergier, that it must have been, in the time of Horace, built as far as Brundisium, is also erroneous, for Horace travelled on the eastern road by Equotutium, Rubi, Barium, and Gnatia, and it would have been strange that Mæcenas should have chosen the route through the Apulian hills, if the more convenient Appian way led to Brundisium, and, since Strabo is acquainted with it in its whole length, it could not have been made much later. The argument adduced by Pratilli from Cicero proves nothing; for Pompey could still advise Cicero to travel on the Via Appia (and not the Latina) as far as it went. Strabo, however, seems by the words *τοῦντεῦθεν ὃ ἤδη μέχρι τῆς Πώμης Ἀππία καλεῖται*, to mean that only the part from Beneventum to Rome, was called Via Appia; and as Procopius also confines the name to the distance between Rome and Capua, the road probably

from thence to Brundisium was not constructed in the same manner, and thus the old part might always specially bear the name. From Livy (x. 23, 47) Hirt concludes that the Appian way was not originally paved, but only gravelled, for in that time it had been built nearly twenty years. Of the former portion, we read in Liv. xxxviii. 28, *viam silice sternendam a porta Capena ad Martis locaverunt*, and consequently the whole way, *via*, not till 560, and previous to then, only the *semita*, a *trottoir*. Still, the Via Appia is not named in any of the passages, and the Temple of Mars here alluded to, and vii. 23, can have been situated sideways, so that quite a different way would be meant, for the temple on the Appian way was first built by Sylla. Moreover, in both passages we have *silice sternere*, to pave, which is very different from *lapide sternere*, to lay with slabs, and the expression does not therefore suit the Appian way, for it was certainly laid with hewn slabs, not square, but of irregular form, the corners of which fitted exactly into each other, similarly perhaps to the Cyclopiian walls. On both sides there was a higher border, *margo*, on which were placed, alternately, seats and milestones, but it was doubtless a later addition. Livy, xli. 27.

intended to travel before night-fall the first forty-two miles of his journey, to Forum Appii, was waiting outside the city, by the grove of the *Camænæ*<sup>2</sup>. He had meanwhile donned his travelling shoes, and changed his *toga* for the more befitting dress for travelling, the *pænula*<sup>3</sup>. All the other preparations had been already seen to by Chresimus; a number of slaves were dispatched before with the baggage, while others were to follow after; those only who were indispensable being permitted to accompany their lord. These arrangements had been completed in less than two hours by some hundred nimble hands, which a sign from the *dispensator* had set in motion, and as there were no female slaves, to cause any further delay by their dilatory toilet and tedious preparation<sup>4</sup>, Gallus found himself, before half the fifth hour had elapsed, reclining on the cushions of the *lectica*; the Syrians then ran their poles through the rings affixed to the sides, lifted the burden on their broad shoulders, and strode expeditiously along the street,

<sup>2</sup> Not far from the Porta Capena, probably in the Vallis Egeriæ, was the *Lucus Camænarum*, also called simply *Camænæ*. The scholiast on Juven. *Sat.* iii. 10, says, *Stetit expectans rhedam, ubi solent Proconsoles jurare in via Appia ad portam Capenam, i. e. ad Camænas*. See Martial, ii. 6, 15.

Gallus is made to go through the city in the *lectica*, while the carriages wait *ad Camænas*, on account of doubts whether it was allowed at that period to drive in a travelling carriage through the streets. For there are no instances of it, and Claudius even forbade travellers to drive through the

towns of Italy in a carriage. Suet. *Claud.* 25.

Umbricius, and probably his whole family also (*Juv.* iii.) enter the *rheda* outside the town.

It is quite manifest that the carriage had waited outside the gate, not that it came after.

<sup>3</sup> The *toga* was the proper dress for public life: on a journey it was changed for the *pænula*, (*Cic. Mil.* 20), for a description of which see Appendix; art. *Dress of the Men*.

<sup>4</sup> Such delays in the departure on a journey appear to have been common. Plaut. *Mil.* iv. 7, 9.

whilst the remainder of the escort partly opened a passage for them through the crowd, and partly kept behind to bring up the rear.

The way led through the most lively portion of the city, and it was just the time when the streets, though always full, presented the most motley throng, and the greatest bustle; for the sixth hour approached, when a general cessation from business commenced<sup>5</sup>, and most people were wont to take their morning meal. Whilst some therefore were still sedulously engaged in their daily avocations, many of the less occupied were already hurrying to the place of refreshment. Here, a prompt builder was dispatching, by mules and carriers, the materials of a new building, for which he had only just contracted<sup>6</sup>; there, huge stones and beams were being wound up aloft, for the completion of an edifice. Countrymen with loud cries were driving to and fro their mules, which were bringing, in baskets<sup>7</sup> suspended on either side, the produce of the country into the city; or perhaps the street would become stopped up by a solemn funeral procession happening to meet a heavily laden waggon coming in the opposite direction. The most lively sight was presented by the Subura, where a multitude of hawkers plied their miserable trade. Some from the

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<sup>5</sup> *Sexta quies lassis*, says Martial, iv. 8; and during this time the *merenda*, or *prandium*, was taken. See Appendix; art. *The Meals*. The many idle persons who lived at Rome even then, and more numerous afterwards, and the multitude of slaves, who also did not fail in the *sapere ad genium*, no doubt betook themselves to the various *tabernæ* at this period.

<sup>6</sup> The bustle and hurry in the streets of Rome, are described in lively colours by Horace, *Epist.* ii. 2, 72, and Juvenal, iii. 245, v. 254.

<sup>7</sup> In this manner mules and asses were laden, and this is what Petron. c. 31, means by *bisaccium*. Comp. Apul. *Met.* ix.

region beyond the Tiber offered matches<sup>9</sup> for sale, occasionally taking in exchange broken glass instead of money; others bore boiled peas<sup>10</sup> and sold a dish of them to the poorest class for an *as*, whilst those accustomed to somewhat better fare, betook themselves to the cook's boy, who with loud voice, cried smoking sausages for sale<sup>11</sup>. In one place a curious crowd was collected round an Egyptian juggler, about whose neck and arms the most venomous snakes familiarly wound themselves; in another stood a group reading the programme<sup>11</sup>,

<sup>9</sup> The profession of this people was probably not more respectable than that pursued by our chiffoniers; they sold matches and bartered them for broken glass, which they repaired again with sulphur. Their headquarters were *trans Tiberim*, generally the abode of the lowest class. Mart. i. 42; Stat. *Silv.* i. 6, 77. They cried their wares, as we see from Martial, xii. 57, 14, where among the reasons enumerated, why one could not sleep in Rome, the *sulphurate lippus institor mercis*, is mentioned. Comp. Ruperti *ad Juven.* v. 48.

<sup>10</sup> *Cicer fervens*, or *tepidum*, boiled chick-peas, a very usual and cheap aliment, was hawked about for sale. Mart. i. 42, 5. A dish of them could be obtained for an *as* (about three half-pence). Mart. ii. 104, 10. Hence it is especially the food of the poorest class, and always a mark of a very frugal table. Hor. *Sat.* i. 6, 115; Mart. v. 78, 21.

<sup>10</sup> Sausages were a favourite dish, and used by all classes of society, and the fortunate rival of Cleon, in the *Knights* of Aristophanes, has lent

no small renown to the trade in them. The Roman names for them are *botulus* and *tomaculum*, but these signify different things, as we gather from Petron. 49. They were prepared, as among us, with the blood of the animal, as we learn from Aristoph. *Eq.* 208, and the *botuli* were of this description, as Tertull. *Apol.* 9, says: *botulos cruore distentos admovebis*. *Tomacula*, on the contrary, were brain, liver, and other sausages, and were eaten warm, being roasted on the gridiron. Petr. 31; Mart. xiv. 221. Hence they were carried about in small tin ovens for sale. Mart. i. 42, 9. So the *botularius* also cried out his wares. Sen. *Epist.* 56. In Varro, *R. R.* ii. 4, 10, *tomacinae* are probably the same as *tomacula*. As we import hams from Westphalia, and brain-sausages from Brunswick, so the Romans obtained both best from Gaul. Comp. Ruperti *ad Juven.* x. 355.

<sup>11</sup> As among us the play at the theatre is made known by placards exposed to public view, so they were announced among the ancients by means of inscriptions on the wall (*programmata*) in public and fre-



painted in large letters on the wall of a public building, of the next contests of gladiators, which promised to be brilliant, as the place of exhibition was to be covered with an awning—but every where the lower classes, old and young, were hurrying to the *thermopolie* and cookshops, to obtain each his wonted seat, and to drink for breakfast, according to choice, a goblet of honey-wine or the favourite *calda*. This motley multitude kept passing through streets which were, besides this, rendered disagreeably narrow, by a numerous cluster of shops choking them up<sup>12</sup>, for huxters and mer-

quented places. Several such inscriptions have been discovered at Pompeii. In the same manner, either by means of the *præco*, or inscriptions on the walls, or by writing on a tablet hung out of doors, private persons made known when they had lost any thing, or when they had any thing to let or sell. The oldest traces of such announcements are in Plaut. *Merc.* iii. 4, 78; and *Menæch.* v. 9, 93, when Messenio, as *præco*, announces the auction of Menæchmus. But a special passage is Petr. 97. For the placards there is a *locus classicus* in Prop. iii. 2, 23, where a letter has been lost; and Dig. xlvii. 2, 43. The *vela* mentioned in both announcements we have referred to, served to cover in the theatre. This convenience was first provided for the spectators by Q. Catulus, A. U. C. 683. Plin. xix. 1, 6. Lucret. iv. 73, describes the new custom. Coloured cloths were used even at this period. In Pliny's time the luxury went still further; they imitated the starry heaven. The *sparsiones* mentioned in the second programme, consisted in besprinkling the theatre with sweet-

smelling essences, as saffron, *crocus*, the odour of which appears to have pleased the ancients. This sprinkling was effected by means of pipes, from which the liquids were thrown as from the jets of a fountain. Sen. *Epist.* 90. This took place just the same in a regular theatre, and the boards, as well as the spectators, were besprinkled. Martial, v. 25, *lubrica*, or *madentia croco pulpita*, are often mentioned. Essences and flowers were rained down in the *triclinia* also, as with Nero. See Suet. *Ner.* 31; comp. Dio Cass. lxi. 8. That this was customary, at least as early as Augustus, we see from Ovid, *Art. Am.* i. 104.

<sup>12</sup> The *tabernæ* built up against the houses had, by degrees, so narrowed the streets, that Domitian caused a decree to be issued against them, and every one was confined to the area of the house. Martial, his ever ready flatterer, has also immortalized the interdict by an epigram (viii. 61) interesting to us, as it contributes so much towards a picture of the appearance of the Roman streets. We

chants of all sorts, artists in hair and salve-sellers, butchers and pastry cooks, but above all vintners had built their booths far into the street, so that you might even see tables arranged along the piers and pillars of the halls, and covered with bottles, which were, however, cautiously fastened by chains, lest perchance they might be filched by the hand of some *Strobilus* or *Thesprio* hurrying by. In consequence of so many obstructions, which occurred every moment, it was certainly more convenient to allow yourself to be carried through the throng, reclining in a *lectica*, although it often required very safe bearers, and now and then the sturdy elbow of the *præambulo* to get well through; by this mode you had also the advantage of not being incessantly seized by the hand, addressed, or even kissed<sup>13</sup>, a custom which of late had begun to prevail, but escaped with a simple salutation, which was still quite troublesome enough, for, from every side resounded an *ave* to be responded to, and frequently from the mouths of persons for whom even

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see from it that wine was sold not only inside the *tabernæ* but also before them, probably at the pillars of the porticos, tables were set with bottles, which were fastened by chains to prevent their being purloined, and in this manner, perhaps, it would be more correct to interpret the *catenata taberna* in Juv. iii. 304, which Ruperi explains by *catenis firmata*.

<sup>13</sup> *Effugere Romæ non est basiationes*, is the ejaculation of Martial, xi. 98, who censures this very disagreeable habit in several humorous epigrams. Not merely at the *salutatio*, but at every meeting in the

street, a person was exposed to a number of kisses, not only from near acquaintance, but from every one who desired to shew his attachment, among whom there were often mouths not so clean as they might be. See Martial, xii. 59.

The misanthrope Tiberius, who wished himself not to be humbled by this custom, issued an edict against it, (Suet. *Tib.* 34), but it does not appear to have done much good, as the custom continued: in winter only it was improper to annoy another with one's cold lips, on which the same poet also gives us a jocular epigram (vii. 95).

the *nomenclator* in his hurry had only an invented name ready<sup>14</sup>.

The train having at last succeeded in safely winding its way through all impediments to the Porta Capena, passed under an antique looking arch, on the moist stones of which great drops, from the aqueduct which was carried over it<sup>15</sup>, were always hanging. At a short distance from hence, by the sanctuary of the Camœnæ, were waiting the carriages, consisting of a light covered *rheda* drawn by Gallic palfreys, and two *petorrita* likewise provided with fast horses, for the slower pace of the mule was incompatible with the plan of the journey, according to which the travellers were to avail themselves of the next night to pass through the Pontine marshes.

Gallus mounted the elegantly-built *rheda*. It was

<sup>14</sup> This actually took place, as is testified by Seneca *de Benef.* i. 3; *Epist.* 27.

<sup>15</sup> The *Porta Capena* in the first region, between the *Ardeatina* and *Latina*, led to Capua, and it is the most natural to deduce its name from thence, and the more so, as the *Ardeatina* and *Tiburtina* derived their names from the towns arrived at by their means. In *Juven.* iii. 10, it is called the moist gate, and the scholiast remarks thereupon: *ideo quia supra eam aquæ ductus est, quem nunc appellant arcum stillantem.* *Ruperti* is wrong therefore in saying, *Alii portam rectius ita dictam putant a fontibus, qui ibi erant, unde et Fontinalis vocabatur*; for how can we refer the passage in *Martial*, iii. 47, to the fountains in the vicinity?

We have the similar designation (*iv.* 18) where a boy has been killed by the fall of an icicle:

Qua vicina pluit Vipsanis porta columnis  
Et madet assiduo lubricus imbre lapis.

The Porticus Vipsana may have been near the Porta Capena, or another gate may be meant, (*Comp. Donat. de Urb. Rom.* iii. 17. In *Horace, Epist.* i. 6, 26, two especial promenades are placed together by a mere chance, but it is uncertain whether the Columnæ Vipsanæ were the well-known Porticus Agrippæ), but at all events the icicle has nothing to do with the fountains, and if a Porta was *pluens*, it might still be the Capena; on the contrary, we might rather fancy a similitude with the *meta sudans*, were there not other grounds against it.

not, it is true, a state vehicle with gilded wheels, and rich silver mountings, still the body was ornamented with beautifully wrought foliage in bronze, and Medusa's heads, of the same metal, peeped from the centres of the wheels. The head of leather served as a protection against the hot rays of the mid-day sun, whilst the purple hangings, being fastened back, admitted an agreeable current of cool air. Beside Gallus, on the left of his master<sup>16</sup>, the faithful Chresimus took his place, but the seats, which on other occasions were occupied by the *notarii*, who committed to writing the chance thoughts of their master<sup>17</sup>, remained empty; the servants seated themselves in the less fashionable *petorrita*, a couple of Numidian riders vaulted on to their light steeds, and started off in advance, whilst runners, girt up high, flying along before the carriage, emulated the speed of the swift palfreys.

Thus whirled the light vehicle at a sharp trot, past the sanctuary of Mars Extra-urbanus, and between the numerous sepulchral monuments<sup>18</sup>, along the queen of roads, which, paved with slabs skilfully joined so as to form, as it were, one stony band, offered no obstruction to the equable roll of the wheels. Gallus was in the most cheerful humour. The everlasting bustle and mono-

<sup>16</sup> Lipsius (*Elect.* ii. 2) has shewn that the right hand was the place of honour among the Romans; in the Capitoline Temple, and in the assemblies of the gods, Minerva took this place. Hor. *Od.* i. 12, 19.

<sup>17</sup> That this sometimes happened, follows from Seneca, *Epist.* 72.

<sup>18</sup> See Appendix; art. *Tombs*. On the Via Appia they were very numerous. It is only necessary to remember what Cicero, *Tusc.* i. 7, says: *An tu egressus porta Capena, cum Calatini, Scipionum, Serviliorum, Metellorum, sepulchra vides, miseros putas illos?* The *Columbarium lib. et serv. Liviae Augustae*, and many others were also there.

tony of the restless metropolis lay behind him, and before him was the expectation of days of peaceful enjoyment in the bosom of nature decked out in all the charms of spring, and in the undisturbed pursuit of studies refreshing to the mind, which the visits of friends in the neighbourhood, or from Rome, would only pleasantly interrupt. Lycoris too must soon arrive at the bath, and the bliss of requited love be even enhanced by the attraction of new scenes.

Chresimus was in a less joyful mood. Gallus had caused a tomb to be erected on the left-hand side of the Appian way, and the faithful old domestic had not failed to observe, in passing by, how a crow, which had been disturbed by the outriders, had settled upon the *cippus* of the monument and cawed hoarsely<sup>19</sup>. This occurrence fell the heavier on the old man's heart, because an evil omen had already made him mistrustful of the result of the journey; for, as he turned himself to the altar of the *lar vialis* to pray, before ascending the carriage, for good luck and protection during the short journey, a black viper had suddenly shot across the street with the speed of an arrow<sup>20</sup>,—quite sufficient cause for entirely giving up the journey, had Gallus been a believer in the significancy of such signs. He did not however appear to perceive the old man's dejection, but talked much of the alterations he was about to effect at the villa, and of his intended purchase of a neigh-

<sup>19</sup> It is well known how much the ancients regarded such omens. Among the apparitions which could deter a person from prosecuting a journey, Horace names the crow, *Od.* iii. 27, 26, where Mitscherlich

quotes the passage from Virg. *Ecl.* i. 18 :

*Sæpe sinistra cava prædixit ab ilice cornix.*

<sup>20</sup> This warning before a journey is also mentioned by Horace.

bouring estate, and mentioned with much pleasure the rich vintage, which the vineyards on the two properties would yield him; taking no heed the while of the prophetic warning, which the domestic involuntarily uttered, 'That between the cup and the lip there hung many a chance'<sup>21</sup>.'

The tenth mile-stone and the small hamlet of Bovillæ<sup>22</sup>, where the traveller usually made his first halt, were soon reached: but it was too early for Gallus to stop, and moreover, the poverty of the place was any thing but inviting: therefore although the hour for breakfast was long gone by, the travellers continued their journey five *milliaria* further, to the more important little town of Aricia. There they witnessed a strange scene: on the hill outside the town, a troop of filthy beggars, their nudity only half covered with rags<sup>23</sup>, had taken up their station,

<sup>21</sup> The beautiful Greek proverb, Πολλά μεταξὺ πέλει κύλικος καὶ χείλεος ἄκρου, was rendered somewhat more prosaically by the less refined Romans: *Inter os et offam multa intervenire possunt*. See Gell. xiii. 17.

<sup>22</sup> *Bovillæ*, at the tenth mile-stone; according to Gell's *Topogr. of Rome*, beyond the twelfth; and to the scholiast on Pers. vi. 55, at the eleventh. But Gell's supposition rests on the presumption that in Plutarch, *Coriol.* 29, Βόλλας πόλιν οὐ πλείους σταδίους ἑκατον ἀπέχουσιν τῆς Ῥώμης, is to be read Βοῖλλας. It might appear odd that the place is called by the poets *suburbanus*. Ovid. *Fast.* iii. 667; Prop. iv. 1, 33; but Freinsheim has already, on *Flor.* i. 11, remarked that Tibur

was just in like manner termed *suburbanum*.

<sup>23</sup> Whether this society of beggars was to be found in the time of Gallus at Aricia, the town situated at about the sixth milestone, and celebrated for the grove of Diana, I will not venture to determine. Juven. iv. 117, mentions them, and Martial often, as where he says of a family changing its abode, and carrying its dirty chattels; *Migrare clivum credes Aricinum*. So the father of Lælia is called, x. 68, *Durus Aricina de regione pater*; ii. 19, alludes to this, *Aricino conviva recumbere clivo*, and in a similar sense he wishes an indiscreet poet, x. 5, 3,

Erret per urbem pontis exsul et clivi,  
Interque raucos ultimus rogatores  
Oret caninas panis improbi buccas.

to tax the benevolence of the numerous passers by, and by their daily earnings of *polenta*, peas and vinegar-water, to drag on a miserable yet idle existence. Gallus was already well acquainted with the importunity of these worthy prototypes of the *lazaroni* and *lepros*, who now, hastily hurrying down the hill, surrounded the carriage and vociferously demanded alms. Chresimus had in consequence to distribute a bag-full of coins among the dirty crew, who thereupon retreated lazily to their lair, or cast a servile kiss of the hand to the *rheda*, as it sped quickly towards the town<sup>24</sup>.

In the neighbourhood of Aricia there was many a villa, and in the town itself more than one house, where Gallus would have been received as a welcome guest; but he intended to make his stay as brief as possible, and therefore, on this occasion, preferred passing at an inn, of not very superior accommodation, the short time during which the unharnessed horses<sup>25</sup> were allowed their

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On the above mentioned passage of Juvenal, the scholiast remarks: *Qui ad portam Aricinam, sive ad clivum mendicaret inter Judæos, qui ad Ariciam transierant ex urbe missi.* Nevertheless in none of the passages is there any hint that only Jews or Christians (who are also to be understood under this name) are meant; on the contrary, the *clivi* are designated as the haunts of beggars generally; yet the frequent mention of the beggars at the *clivus Aricinus* as Roman beggars, is sufficiently strange, if we are really to suppose it to have been at Aricia fifteen miles from Rome, and it would almost appear that in Rome itself there was a place of this name. Besides, the beggars

chiefly haunted the bridges. See Ruperti *ad Juven.* iv. 116, xiv. 134, and the gates. Plaut. *Capt.* i. 1, 21; *Trin.* ii. 4, 21.

<sup>24</sup> So I understand the words of Juvenal, iv. 118, which follow immediately the above quoted:

Blandaque devexæ jactaret basia rhedæ.

It is the token of gratitude that the beggar sends after the carriage from which he has received alms.

<sup>25</sup> *Interjungere* is the proper expression when one unyoked the animals at noon, or any other time, to allow them to take rest, and for bait. Mart. iii. 67, 6; ii. 6, 16.

rest at a crib-full of provender. Little as he might reckon on getting a decent repast in such a place, still he thought it the more advisable to take his *prandium* there, although late, as the dirty sailors' pot-houses in Forum Appii promised a far worse meal at night, and in fact the table proved better than the exterior of the inn betokened. The freshly-boiled *lacertæ*<sup>26</sup>, encircled with a string of eggs and rue, looked quite inviting: the plump fowl and the still uncut<sup>27</sup> ham of yesterday, which, with asparagus, the never-failing *lactuca*, and the more celebrated *porrum*<sup>28</sup>, muscles of the *peloridæ* kind, but no oysters from the Lucrine lake, presented, it is true, a poor recompense for the breakfast with Lentulus, which he had deserted, but still afforded one which exceeded his expectations. The wine could not conceal its *vatican* extraction<sup>29</sup> although the landlord had mixed it with some old Falernian, and the *mulsum* was decidedly prepared

<sup>26</sup> *Lacertus*, a very common, and not particularly esteemed sea-fish, which on this account is often introduced in mentioning a simple meal, as Juven. xiv. 134; Mart. vii. 78. It was eaten with eggs, chopped small, and rue, which were placed either round or upon it, (Mart. x. 48, 11), as the *cybium*, salted slices of a fish of the *pelamides* species, (Mart. v. 78, 5), also a cheap dish, whence they are mentioned together. Mart. xi. 27.

<sup>27</sup> In Plaut. *Pers.* i. 3, 25, the Parasite says: *pernam quidem jus est apponi frigidam postridie*. Comp. Mil. iii. 1, 164. Hence also, Mart. x. 48, 17, *tribus caenis jam perna superstes*.

<sup>28</sup> *Porri*, porée, a favourite dish of two kinds, *porrum sectile* (Schnittlauch) *chives*, and *capitatum*; hence *utrumque porrum*. Mart. iii. 47, 8. The *capitatum* (*graves porri*, *ibid.* v. 78, 4) of very good quality, came to Rome from Aricia, Colum. x. 139; *mater Aricia porri*, Mart. xiii. 19; as the *sectile* from Tarentum, *ibid.* 18. Horace's condemnation of it (*Epod.* iii.) is well known.

<sup>29</sup> The wine which grew on the *collis Vaticanus* was in great disrepute. Mart. vi. 92, says: *Vaticana bibis: bibis venenum*. To render it more palatable, it was sometimes mixed with good old wine, as we read in Martial's excellent epigram, i. 19.



with Corsican honey<sup>30</sup>; the service was only from the hand of a common potter, but who could desire more in such a place! It was only the company who at the time happened to be in the humble tavern, and amused themselves with coarse jokes and loud laughter, or abused and bullied the host, that made his stay not very pleasant. As soon therefore as the horses had had an hour's rest, Gallus again started, proposing to perform the far greater journey from thence to Forum Appii without further halt.

Quickly as the *rheda* rolled beyond Aricia, past Tres Tabernæ to the low grounds, yet the sun was already set, and single stars began to be visible in the darkening heaven before the travellers arrived at Forum Appii<sup>31</sup>. Here the road, which had entered the Pontine marshes for several *milliaria*, became more unpleasant, especially on warm summer days, when the exhalations from the marshes poisoned the air. On this account they usually preferred travelling in the cool of the evening by the canal, made by the side of the road, as far as the temple

<sup>30</sup> The best honey was the Attic (Hymettian), and the Sicilian from the floriferous Hybla. Mart. xiii. 104, 105. Third in rank was that from Calydna, an island on the coast of Caria. Plin. xi. 13. On the other hand, the worst (*asperimum*, Plin. xxx. 4, 10) came from Coraica. Therefore Ovid says of the letter (*cera*) of his love, who refuses the rendezvous he entreats for. *Amor.* i. 13, 9:

Quam, puto, de longæ collectam flore cicutæ  
Melle sub infami Corsica misit apis;

and Martial replies to Cæcilianus, who had requested epigrams of him upon absurd subjects, xi. 42:

Mella jubes Hyblæa tibi, vel Hymettia nasci,  
Et thyma Cecropiæ Corsica ponis api.

Comp. ix. 27. Concerning the *mulsum*, see the Appendix; art. *The Drinks*.

<sup>31</sup> Forum Appii, a little town about forty-three *milliaria* from Rome, where the Pontine marshes had already commenced, and from whence there went, besides the road, a canal of about fifteen *milliaria* in length, nearly to Terracina, or Anxur. Strabo, v. 6. So Horace, as we know, made his journey to Brundisium, *Sat.* i. 5, from which the description here given of the night voyage is mainly taken.

of Feronia, which lay on the other side of the marshes. This was also the plan of Gallus, and for this reason the horses had been forced to step along briskly, as it was two and forty miles from Rome to this place<sup>22</sup>. But it was not at all disagreeable to him that no longer stay was necessary in this wretched little place, full of miserable taverns frequented by sailors<sup>23</sup>. The exterior of the lame and disproportionately fat landlady, in shape not much unlike a wine-cask<sup>24</sup>, who approached him in the *caupona*; as well as the disgusting taste of the impure water<sup>25</sup>, made him determine to let the *prandium* in Aricia compensate for his evening meal also, and to content himself with some bread and bad wine. Meanwhile Chresimus had been busy about a boat, but could not obtain one that would take them without other passengers; for there was never any lack of travellers there,

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<sup>22</sup> The rapidity with which Gallus performed the journey to Forum Appii, is at least not exaggerated: to that place it was forty-two or forty-three Roman miles, seventy-five of which go to a degree, or five to the geographical mile, therefore it could be done with ease in ten hours. Far more considerable is the speed with which Capito travelled from Rome to Ameria, to convey the news of the murder of Roscius. Cic. *p. Rosc. Am.* 7. Horace too says, that for a good walker, it was one day's journey from Rome to Forum Appii.

<sup>23</sup> By sailors are here to be understood the barge-men, who forwarded the travellers along the canal: the great number of them employed, and the numerous travellers who must ne-

cessarily have stopped there, caused so many inns.

<sup>24</sup> There might have been in many a *Caupona* tolerable hostesses; but for an Appian sailor's pot-house, such a figure as Harpax describes (Plaut. *Pseud.* ii. 2, 64) will not be unfitting.

<sup>25</sup> The Via Appia generally was not provided with good water. Horace, v. 7, says of Forum Appii, *propter aquam, quod erat telerrima, ventri indico bellum*; and farther on there was also a similar want. At Equotutium and Canusium it was a regular article of commerce, as at Ravenna, where an innkeeper cheated Martial, and instead of the wine and water mixture which the poet demanded, gave him *merum*. See Mart. iii. 56, 57.

and no one willingly made the journey alone through the marshes, which were not unfrequently rendered insecure by footpads who infested them<sup>36</sup>. Nearly an hour in consequence was lost, during which the boatman interchanged rough words with the slaves of the travellers, who would not allow the bark to be overloaded, as he wished; he afterwards collected the passengers' fare, and having lazily yoked his mule which had to tow the bark on the causeway made along-side<sup>37</sup>, the passage at last began. The banks were lined with willows, interspersed here and there with an alder, around the roots of which tall plants of the fern species waved to and fro, moved slightly by the night-breeze, and above them, on the natural festoons made by the creepers, rocked the glow-worm. The stars shining brighter and brighter from above invited the travellers to repose, but the troublesome gnats which the morass generated in myriads, and the croaking of the lively frogs scared away the quiet god. Besides which the boatman and one of the travellers, both drunk with the sour wine of the Appian inn, were alternately singing the praises of their maidens left behind<sup>38</sup>. At last however weariness closed the eyes

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<sup>36</sup> The roads of Italy were generally disturbed by numberless highwaymen, *grassatores*; but the whole distance from the Pontine marshes to the sea-coast, was particularly infested by bands of these depredators, the loneliness of the vicinity affording them a secure retreat. It was on this account sometimes occupied by troops, in order to expel the robbers, who, however, only went elsewhere, and even to Rome itself. Juven. iii. 305.

<sup>37</sup> The whole description, the *con-vicia*, the *nauta as exigens*, the *maliculices*, the *ranæ palustres*, is borrowed from Horace.

<sup>38</sup> *Absentem ut cantat amicam multa prolutus vappa nauta atque viator*. Hor. v. 15. How Heindorf ever could explain *viator* "the driver of the mule, who went beside the boat," is inconceivable! Such a driver there is none, but the single boatman, necessary for guiding the

of all the passengers; the boat became more and more tranquil, and no sooner did the bargeman perceive that all were asleep, than he tethered his mule fast to a stone, in order that it might graze in the tall marshy grass, and laid himself also down to sleep off his intoxication. The day would probably have broken before his lazy limbs had returned to life, had not one who slept less soundly than the rest become aware of the boat's stopping still, and jumped up to belabour, in his wrath, the head and loins of the boatman and his mule with his willow cudgel. Thus it was not till the middle of the second hour that the travellers arrived at the other side of the marshes not far from the temple of Feronia<sup>30</sup>; and washed their hands and faces in the sacred fountain of the goddess. The carriages had remained behind at Forum Appii, so that our travellers went on foot the three *milliaria* to Terracina, which, placed on a precipitous rock, looked down upon the low grounds. There was now no further need of such expedition as they had used the day before, yet Gallus determined to proceed, and though there was no lack of carriages at Terracina, which their owners offered him on hire, he preferred travelling the uneven road before him on mules, which were soon standing saddled and ready for starting.

bark along the canal, manages it, as we see from the verses which follow, when he fastens the mule, and lays himself down to sleep. The *viator* is the traveller, who is also on board the bark, and not a mule-driver.

<sup>30</sup> The Temple of Feronia (see Müll. *Etrusk.* ii.; Böttig. *Kunst-myth.* ii. p. 226) lay, it seems, quite close to the further end of the canal;

for Horace, v. 23, says, without mentioning any further continuation of the journey, *quarta vis demum exponimur hora. Ora manusque tua lavimus Feronia lympa*. Washing the face and hands after a night journey is so natural, that it is not requisite either with the Schol. Cruq. to refer it to a preparation for the *prandium*, nor with Torrentius, to suppose that it took place *religionis causa*.

Nearly half the journey <sup>40</sup> had thus been performed in less than twenty-four hours; to the second half two days were allotted, and a courier was dispatched in advance to announce that he would arrive to breakfast with a friend who lived between Terracina and Fundi, when he hoped to partake of a better repast than he had the day before; intending to spend the night at another friend's house in Formiæ. From thence he could the next day get comfortably before the evening meal, by way of Minturnæ and Sinuessa, to the Campanian bridge <sup>41</sup>, near which lay his villa, sideways from the road, in the direction of the Auruncan hills.

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<sup>40</sup> The distance of the road from Rome to Terracina, amounted, according to Pratilli, to sixty-one miles, and the whole distance from Rome to Capua, he reckons at 134 miles.

*milliaria* beyond Sinuessa, led over the small river Savo, and was called Campanian, because the territory of Campania, to which it formed as it were the entrance, began beyond Sinuessa, which was the last town of Latium.

<sup>41</sup> The Campanian bridge, nine

## THE FIFTH SCENE.

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### THE VILLA.

IT was in the most charming situation of the Falernian land<sup>1</sup>, so highly favoured by nature, that Gallus had some years before purchased an extensive estate, which both yielded an abundant agricultural produce, and offered at all seasons the enjoyments of country life in superfluity. The road, which beyond the Campanian bridge, leaving the Appian way to the right, turned towards the stream of the Savo<sup>2</sup>, led for miles through pleasant woodland and forests, which, now contracting the breadth of the road to that of a narrow path, shaded the traveller with lofty poplars and elms, and then retreating further off, drew a dark circlet round the luxuriant green meadows, or at another time became interrupted for a while, and then opened a prospect towards the Auruncan hills on the left; whilst to the right were discovered the small towns lying at short intervals from each other on the Appian way.

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<sup>1</sup> The *ager Falernus* was the most fruitful part of the *Campania felix*, (Sil. Ital. viii. 160), celebrated for its wine, reputed to be next to the Cæcuban, the best of all those of Italy, until the caprice of Augustus gave the preference to the Setinian. The Falernian land reached from the foot of Mons Massicus, lying above Sinuessa, or, more correctly speaking, from the Campanian bridge, being bounded on the left by the Via Appia, and on the other side by the little river Savo, as far as Casilinum and the Via Latina, which led across from Cales to the Appian way. Plin.

xiv. 6, 8, says expressly: *Falernus ager a ponte Campano læva petentibus urbanam incipit*. Liv. xxii. 15. It is here assumed that the estate was situated on both sides of the Savo, the regular *villa rustica* in the Falernian territory, the other one on the right bank, towards the Auruncan hills.

<sup>2</sup> The Savo, (Saone, or Savone), a small river, rising not far from Teanum, is called by Stat. *Silv.* iv. 3, 66, *piger Savo*, in consequence of its inconsiderable fall.

The broad champaign belonging to the villa was intersected by the Savo, and reached on the one side nearly to the Via Appia, and on the other to the vine-clad hills, along which wound the road from Sinuessa to Teanum. The whole property was formed from the conjunction of two estates, and might still be considered as such, as they were remote from each other; and at almost opposite extremities lay the buildings designed for agricultural purposes, and the villa built in the city fashion<sup>3</sup>. At the former there was no space subservient only to the pleasures and vanity of the possessor, and entailing on him at the same time a fund of useless expense: no idle plantations of *platani* and laurels, no hedges of box clipped into shapes, no splendid country house with its endless colonnades. The simple abode of the *villicus*<sup>4</sup>, at the entrance of the first

<sup>3</sup> A distinction was made between the *villa rustica*, properly so called, and the *pseudo-urbana*, (Vitr. vi. 8), and some houses were built for one of these purposes only, whilst others served for both. Of the latter, Columella, i. 6, says: *Modus autem membrorumque numerus aptetur universo concepto, et dividatur in tres partes, urbanam, rusticam et fructuariam*. By the last he means store-houses for oil, wine, grain, hay, &c.

<sup>4</sup> The plan of a *villa rustica* is prescribed at length by Varro, Vitruvius, and Columella; but the directions given by the last author materially differ from those of the two former, particularly as regards the store-chambers. The general plan is as follows: The villa must have had two courts (*cohortes, chortes, cortes*), Varr. i. 13. At the entrance to the

first or outer one, was the abode of the *villicus*, in order that he might know who went in and out (Varro, *ibid.* Col. i. 6, 6); also the great common kitchen, where the slaves congregated, and where in winter-time different avocations were pursued by the fire-side. Vitr. vi. 9; Varr. *supra*, and Col. Beside this, were the bath-rooms, (Vitr. sect. 2), and also the wine and oil press, (*torcular*), according to Vitruvius. On the contrary Columella says, sect. 18: *Torcularia præcipue cellæque oleariæ calidæ esse debent. Sed ut calore naturali opus est, qui contingit positione cæli et declinatione, ita non opus est ignibus aut flammis: quoniam fumo et fuligine sapor olei corrumpitur*, and for this reason will not even allow lamps to be employed in the labour of pressing. The *cellæ oleariæ* and *vinariæ* also, must have been here; the former towards the

court, had nothing attractive to the eye ; but so much the more pleasing was the aspect within of the *cellæ* close to one another, which contained the rich stores of oil and wine ; while above them on the first floor, the blessings of Ceres which were piled up, testified the fertility of the soil. It was pleasant to see how the returning herds and teams assembled round the broad water-troughs of the inner court to drink, whilst geese and ducks merrily splashing about, suffered themselves to be laved by the descending jet of the simply-constructed fountain. All around the court were swarms of various kinds of poultry<sup>5</sup> ; peacocks,

south, the latter towards the north ; but both of them upon the ground-floor. Var. Col. sect. 9.

Columella assumes a special villa *fructuaria*, and transfers thither the oil and wine stores also (sect. 9), but Vitruvius only places things dangerous in case of fire outside the villa (sect. 5). In Varro all the stores are in the villa itself.

The cells of the slaves which must have been elsewhere, besides in the outer court, were preferred, situated to the south. Col. sect. 3. It is best to suppose that the stalls, *bullia*, *equilia*, *ovilia*, were around the inner court, although Vitruvius would have them to be near the kitchen. Both courts must have had water-cisterns in the centre, and the inner one a spring also for watering cattle, (Varr. sect. 3), the outer one another for steeping fruits in. Comp. Stieglitz, *Archäologie d. Bauk.* iii. ; Hirt, *Gesch. d. Bauk.* iii. ; and the remarks of Schneider on Varro, Columella and Palladius.

<sup>5</sup> The *coors* of a Roman villa was doubtless very different from our

farm-yards, where, with the exception of hens, turkeys, and ducks, there is seldom any other bird, unless it be some solitary peacock stalking about with his hens. The Roman hen-yard displayed a more varied sight, and the breeding of peacocks for example was a special object of attention. For, after this bird of Juno, whose brilliant plumage and insipid flavour pointed it out as only created for show, was first introduced by Hortensius, and used to increase the splendour of the banquet (Varr. *R. R.* iii. 6, 6; Plin. x. 20, 23), this insane luxury soon became general, so that even the temperate Cicero made no exception. *Ad Fam.* ix. 18, 20. And hence in Varro's time an egg cost 5 *denarii*, a peacock 50, a flock of 100 hens 40,000 *H.S.*, and supposing each of these had on an average three young ones, this would bring in 60,000 *H.S.* ; and M. Aufidius Lucro, who first attempted to fatten them, gained from this enterprize a yearly income of 60,000 *H.S.* Colum. viii. 11 ; Pallad. i. 28, treat especially of the breeding of them.



with their wide expanded tails, red feathered flamingos<sup>6</sup>, Numidian<sup>7</sup> and Rhodian<sup>8</sup> hens, with their own brood, or performing not less tenderly the office of foster mothers to young pheasants<sup>9</sup>, the eggs of which had been stealthily placed under them to hatch, by the steward,—all collected cackling and coaxing round the steward's wife, who scattered food among them from the lap of her gown; and ever and anon a brood of doves<sup>10</sup> would make a descent in

<sup>6</sup> There is no proof that the Phœnicopterus, which is explained to be the flamingo, and named in the modern system *Phœnicopterus antiquorum*, was in the time of Gallus one of the delicacies at the tables of the great, but it was not introduced at a much later date, for Vitellius and Apicius had dishes made of the tongues of these birds. Suet. Vitell. 13; Plin. x. 48, 68. Martial names them among the *turba cortis*, iii. 58, 14. Elagabalus had dishes prepared of the brains of these birds. Lampr. c. 20.

<sup>7</sup> It is doubtful what is to be understood by the term Numidian hens. Columella says, (viii. 2, 2), *Africana est, quam plerique Numidicam dicunt, Meleagridi similis, nisi quod rutilam galeam et cristam capite gerit, quæ utraque sunt in Meleagride cærulea*, but Varro, iii. 9, and Plin. x. 26, 38, call the *meleagrides*, *gibberæ*, and in Mart. iii. 58, they are *Numidicæ guttatae*; hence it is concluded, that our guinea-fowls (*Numida meleagris*, Linn.) are meant, but their *galea* is not red, but blue, while the comb is red. Perhaps the guinea-fowls are a variety of both.

<sup>8</sup> Rhodian hens, a particularly large species, which like the Tana-

grian (Paus. ix. 22, 4) were kept for their pugnacity. Colum. viii. 2, 5, prefers the native species, sect. 12. They are mentioned by Martial, iii. 58, 17, in the villa of Faustinus which he calls a *rus verum*.

<sup>9</sup> It does not appear clear how it was possible to keep pheasants in the farm-yard, for, according to our experience, they never become thoroughly domesticated, returning to their free natural haunts as soon as they are unconfined. Yet Palladius speaks, (i. 29), of the breeding of them, as fowls in the yard, and Martial recounts among the poultry that run about the villa of Faustinus, the *impiorum phasianæ Colchorum*. It is perhaps best explained by what Columella says, viii. 10, 6. *Atque ea genera, quæ intra septa villæ ci-bantur (gallinæ, columbæ, turtures, turdi) fere persecuti sumus, nunc de his dicendum est, quibus etiam exitus ad agrestia pabula dantur*. Among the latter we may perhaps reckon, besides the peacocks and guinea-fowls, the pheasants also. Palladius recommends that the eggs should be hatched by hens.

<sup>10</sup> The ancients also carried their taste for pigeons almost to a passion. Plin. x. 37, 43. Varro, iii. 7, 10,

the midst from the tower-like pigeon-cots, whilst turtle and ring-doves<sup>11</sup>, caught at great pains, together with a multitude of field-fares<sup>12</sup>, were to be seen confined in particular pens where they were fed.

Not less pleasing was the sight of the vegetable and fruit gardens surrounding the villa. Long beds of asparagus, whose delicate red shoots were just piercing the crust of the soil, were interspersed with thick parterres of *lactuca*<sup>13</sup>, the opening dish of the meal; here the brown-

says : *Parentes eorum Romæ, si sunt formosi, bono colore, integri, boni seminis, paria singula vulgo veneunt ducentis nummis, nec non eximia singulis millibus nummum, quas nuper cum mercator tanti emere vellet a L. Axio, equite Rom. minoris quadringentis denariis daturum negavit.* In the time of Columella this extravagance was carried much farther (viii. 8, 10). There were two chief sorts : wild doves, and house doves. Varr. sect. 1. The pigeon houses or cots, were built like turrets, on the highest points of the villa (Col. viii. 8) ; according to Pallad. i. 24, in *prætorio*, i. e. above the mansion. The walls were painted of a bright white colour, which the doves liked. Col. sect. 4 ; Pall. ; Ovid, *Trist.* i. 9, 7. The number of pigeons kept must have been immense. Varro says, (sect. 2), *in uno sepe vel quinque millia sunt inclusa.* Carrier pigeons were also known to the ancients. Plin. x. 37, 53.

<sup>11</sup> The gourmands of Rome were not content with tame pigeons, but ring and turtle doves, *palumbi*, *turtures*, were anared, or their nests taken, and held to be an especial delicacy. As they would not breed in confinement, (Col. viii. 9), they

were placed in a dark receptacle under the pigeon-house, and fattened for the table. Pall. i. 35.

<sup>12</sup> The field-fare, *turdus*, was considered a great luxury, and was not only eaten when in season, but also fed all the year round in *ornithones* for the purpose. Even in Varro's time they were sold when fattened for 3 *denarii* (about sixteen pence) a piece, and one villa yielded in a year 5000 head, consequently a revenue of 60,000 *HS.* (iii. 2, 15). Columella says, (viii. 10), *nunc istis nostræ luxuriæ quotidiana fecit hæc pretia.*

<sup>13</sup> The *lactuca* was one of the most general vegetables, about the use of which at meals, more hereafter. For its varieties, see Billerbeck, *Flora class.* Here the *capitata*, headed-lettuce, comes especially under our consideration, also called *laconica*, (Plin. xix. 8, 38), and *sessilis*, (Mart. iii. 47, 8), and also *sedens*, Mart. x. 48, 9. Five sorts of this are mentioned by Colum. x. 181, and xi. 3, 26 : two named *cæciliæna*, after Cæcilius Metellus, the one green, the other brownish red, the yellowish green, *cappadocæ*, (Mart. v. 78, 4), the whitish, *batice*, and the *cypria*, also red outside.

ish-red Cæcilian, there the yellowish-green large headed Cappadocian species. In one part flourished great plots of Cuman and Pompeian kale<sup>14</sup>, the tender buds of which afforded a favourite dish, as well for the frugal meal of the lower classes, as for the table of the gourmand; in another, numerous beds of leeks<sup>15</sup> and onions; besides spicy herbs, the pale green rue, and the far smelling mint, as well as the *eruca*<sup>16</sup>, which many secretly indulged in, and the mysterious powers of which were unequivocally demonstrated by the numerous young population around the villa; and innumerable rows of mallows, endives, beans, lupines, and other vegetables.

Further on the imposing-looking orchards extended, in which were to be found the most noble sorts of fruit; Crustumian and Syrian pears, and mighty *volema*<sup>17</sup>, among the native Falernian and other species; and not less conspicuous were the apples, among which were the delicious honey-apples<sup>18</sup>, a species of quicker growth

<sup>14</sup> *Brassica*, (*oleracea*), green or brown kale, was likewise a very favourite vegetable. Plin. xix. 8, 41. Both the larger stalks, *caules*, *cauliculus*, and the young spring-shoots, *cymata*, *cyma*, were eaten. Col. x. 127, seqq. The stalks were served up whole. Mart. v. 78, 5. In order that in boiling it might retain its green colour, saltpetre was mixed with it. Mart. xiii. 17; Plin. xxxi. 10, 46. Columella enumerates several sorts; Pliny mentions above others, the Cuman, Arician, and Pompeian.

<sup>15</sup> See note 28, scene IV.

<sup>16</sup> The *eruca*, *brassica eruca*, garden-rocket, served not only as a

spice, but was also eaten like lettuce. Spreng. *Hist. r. herb.* i. p. 97. It was well known as *veneris concitatrix*. Plin. xix. 8, 44, xx. 13, 49; Virg. *Moret.* 85, and is hence often called *herba salax*. Mart. x. 48, 10, iii. 75.

<sup>17</sup> Among the sorts of pears, (of which Pliny enumerates thirty), the most valued were the Crustumian, (Plin. xv. 15), the Falernian, and the Syrian. Mart. v. 78, 13. The *volema*, fist-pear, was chiefly celebrated on account of its size. Virg. *gravis*; Col. *Cat.* 7, 3, and was perhaps the same that Pliny called *libralis*.

<sup>18</sup> Honey apples, *melimela*, (Plin.

than the others, and already ripe; then there were the various kinds of early and late plums<sup>19</sup>, quinces, cherry trees, the boughs of which were laden with the reddening fruit, peaches and apricots, fig-trees with their sweeter winter-fruits, and the nuptial walnut with its strong and wide-spreading branches.

But more delightful than all, was the cheerful and contented appearance of the numerous members of the country family, who did not perform an imposed task like slaves, but with healthful and joyous looks seemed every where to be cultivating their own property. The gentle disposition of the master was reflected in the behaviour of the *villicus*, the indefatigable but just overseer of the whole; and Gallus would rather have dismissed an useless slave from his family, than have borne to see him labouring on his property laden with chains, and dragging logs after him. Hence each one discharged his duties willingly and actively, and hastened cheerfully in the evenings to the great kitchen, which served as the common abode of all, in order to rest from their daily toil, and amid incessant talk, to take their evening meal.

Such happened to be the sight which greeted Gallus on his arrival, for it was this point that he first reached, as in order to have gone at once to his villa, he must have taken at Minturnæ the more inconvenient route behind the Massican hills, by way of Suessa Aurunca. Hearty as his reception was, and willingly as he would have inspected, even the same day, the flourishing condition of the villa, still he

xv. 14, 15), were one of the earliest species of apples, but did not last long, while on the other hand the Amerina kept longest. Plin. c. 16.

<sup>19</sup> *Ingens turba prunorum*, says Plin. xv. 13, 12. Among these were the Armeniaca, *cereola*, or *cerina*, Damascena, the latter imported dry from that country. Mart. xiii. 29.

longed too much for repose after the exertion of his journey to prolong his stay there, especially as the bath and meal prepared at his own house awaited his arrival ; so he continued his journey without stopping. A broad alley of plane-trees led by a gentle slope up to his residence<sup>20</sup>, which was built not so much on a magnificent scale, as in conformity with good taste and utility. The front, situated to the south-east, formed a roomy portico, resting on Corinthian pillars, before which extended a terrace planted with flowers, and divided by box-trees into small beds of various forms ; while the declivity sloping gently down, bore figures, skilfully cut out of the box-trees, of animals opposite to each other, as if prepared for attack, and then gradually became lost in the acanthus which covered with its verdure the plain at its foot.

Behind the colonnade, after the fashion of the city, was an *atrium*, not splendidly but tastefully adorned, the elegant pavement of which, formed to imitate lozenges<sup>21</sup>, in green, white, and black stone, contrasted pleasantly with the red marble that covered the walls. From this you entered a small oval *peristyl*<sup>22</sup>, an excellent resort in unfavourable weather ; for the spaces between the pillars were closed up with large panes of the clearest *lapis specu-*

<sup>20</sup> The description of the *villa urbana*, the *prætarium*, as the manor-house was called, is taken from Plin. ii. 17, and v. 6.

<sup>21</sup> A floor of this description has been found at Pompeii, in the temple of Venus, and a portion of it is given in Zahn. The outer borders only can be considered as mosaic, the interior, on the contrary, *opus sectile*. See Appendix ; art.

*The Roman House.* Zahn remarks that he found no house in Pompeii without a floor.

<sup>22</sup> The reading *in O literæ similitudinem*, (Plin. Ep. ii. 17, 4), has been followed, where *D* and also  $\Delta$  are read. The argument of Gierig in support of *D* as opposed to the other two letters, suits only the  $\Delta$ , for the Roman *O* was no circle but an oval.

*laris*, or tale<sup>23</sup>, through which the eye discovered the pleasant verdure of the soft mossy carpet<sup>24</sup> that covered the open space in the centre, and was rendered ever flourishing by the spray of the fountain. Just behind this was the regular court of the house, of an equally agreeable aspect, in which stood a large marble basin, surrounded by all sorts of shrubs and dwarf trees; on this court abutted a grand eating-hall, built beyond the whole line of the house<sup>25</sup>, through the long windows of which, reaching like doors to the ground, a view was obtained, towards the Auruncan hills in front, and on the sides into the graceful gardens; whilst in the rear, a passage opened through the *cavædium*, *peristyl*, *atrium*, and colonnade beyond the *xystus*, into the open air.

This Cyzicenean saloon was bordered on the right

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<sup>23</sup> If Seneca (*Ep.* 90) were strictly followed, the *specularia* which inclosed this colonnade would not be admissible in reference to the time of Gallus; but Hirt has shewn that the words *nostra memoria* must not be taken strictly, for the *suspensuræ balnearum*, which are also included, are described by Vitruvius. Plin. ix. 54, 79, ascribes their invention to Sergius Orata, in the time of L. Crassus the orator. Why Hirt calls this passage a doubtful one, is not very apparent, as Macrobius (*Sat.* ii. 11) says, *Hic est Sergius Orata, qui primus balneas pensiles habuit*. The most that could be pronounced on it is, that in respect of xxvi. 3, 8, Pliny has contradicted himself. To be convinced of the early use of window-panes, we have only to consider the Cyzicenean Saloon, which on three sides had glass doors (*valvæ*), or

windows reaching to the ground; and it is not comprehensible how these can be supposed without *specularia*. But Vitruvius also describes it. See Appendix; art. *The Roman house and the gardens*.

<sup>24</sup> The moss in the *impluvium*, which was defended from the sun by cloths spread over it, is alluded to by Plin. xix. 1, 6.

<sup>25</sup> The ancient houses were built rectilinearly, as ours are, but symmetry was sacrificed to comfort, and as it was thought desirable to catch the sun's rays as much as possible in the winter-time, several rooms were built projecting from the line of the building. Such, though at one corner of the building, was described by Plin. ii. 17, 8.

by different chambers, which from their northerly aspect presented a pleasant abode, in the heat of summer ; and more to the east lay the regular sitting and sleeping rooms. The first were built outwards semicircularly, in order to catch the beams of the morning light, and retain those of the mid-day sun. The internal arrangements were simple, but comfortable, and in perfect accordance with the green prospect around ; for on the marble base-ment were painted branches reaching inwards as it were from the outside, and upon them coloured birds, so skilfully executed, that they appeared not to sit but to flutter<sup>26</sup>. On one side only was this artificial garden interrupted by a piece of furniture, containing a small library of the most choice books<sup>27</sup>. The sleeping apartment was separated from it only by a small room, which could in winter be warmed by a *hypocaustum*, and thus communicate the warmth to the adjoining rooms by means of pipes<sup>28</sup>. The rest of this side was used as an abode for the slaves, although most of the rooms were sufficiently neat for the reception of any friends who might come on a visit<sup>29</sup>.

On the opposite side, which enjoyed the full warmth of the evening sun, were the bath rooms and the *sphæristerium*, adapted not merely for the game of ball, but for nearly every description of corporeal exercises, and spacious enough to hold several different parties of players at the same time. There Gallus, who was a friend to bracing exercises, used to prepare himself for the bath, either by the game of *trigon*, at which he was expert, or

<sup>26</sup> Plin. *Ep.* v. 26, 22.

<sup>27</sup> Plin. *Ep.* ii. 17, 8.

<sup>28</sup> See Appendix ; art. *The Roman House*.

<sup>29</sup> We see that the slaves did not always inhabit small bad cells, from Plin. *Ep.* ii. 17, 9.

by swinging the *halteres*, and for this purpose the room could be warmed in winter by means of pipes, which were conducted from the *hypocaustum* of the bath under the floor and along the walls. Lastly, at both ends of the front colonnade, forming the entrance, rose turret-shaped buildings<sup>30</sup>, in the different stories of which were small chambers, or *triclinia*, affording an extensive view of the smiling plains.

The garden around the villa, in consequence of the peculiarity of its position, was divided into two unequal parts, one of which in ingenuity and quaintness of ornament, was not at all inferior to the most renowned gardens in the old French and Italian style: no tree or shrub dared to grow in its own natural fashion, the pruning knife and shears of the *topiarius* being ready instantly to force it into the prescribed limits. Hence nothing was seen but the green walls of the smoothly-clipped hedges, diversified only by flower beds, which, like the *xystus*, were partitioned off by box-trees into several smaller ones, exhausting in their shape all the figures of geometry. Here and there stood threatening forms of wild beasts, bears and lions, serpents winding themselves round the trees, and so forth; all cut by the skilful hand of the gardener out of the green box, cypress, or yew-trees. The reluctant foliage had been even constrained into the imitation of letters, and colossal characters could

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<sup>3</sup> Two such *turres*, edifices raised several stories above the rest of the building, were in the Laurentian Villa. Therein were several *diætæ*, small lodgings partitioned off, or consisting of more or less chambers:

they are only mentioned in villas, or similar possessions, and frequently the expression seems to mean, separate small houses, unconnected with the main building. See Plin. *Ep.* v. 6, 20.



be read, indicating in one part, the name of the owner, in another, of the artist to whose invention the garden owed its present appearance. There were also artificial fountains, environed by master-works of sculpture, between which glistened the round tops of lofty orange trees, with their golden fruit.

Fashion required such a garden, which in fact was but little in accordance with the taste of Gallus. He liked not this constraining of nature into uncongenial forms, and much preferred lingering in the other and larger portion, where the course of nature was unrestrained, and only prevented by the gardener's arranging hand from growing wild. Shady groves of planes alternated with open patches of green, which were bounded again by laurels or myrtle-bushes. Instead of the artificial fountains, a limpid brook meandered by the aid of skilful direction through the park, sometimes foaming in tiny cascades over fragments of rock, and then collecting in basins, where tame fishes would congregate to the bank at an accustomed signal, and snap up the food thrown to them<sup>81</sup>. On rounding the corner of a thicket, the character of the park suddenly changed; for passing from a spot of apparently perfect unconstraint, you entered a neatly-kept plantation of fruit-trees and vegetables, which amidst the vanities of the park forcibly reminded you of a modest little farm<sup>82</sup>. From hence you passed into a

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<sup>81</sup> An instance of this sort is adduced by Mart. iv. 29, which, although a miserable piece of flattery to Domitian, can hardly be thought altogether fictitious. And even in the present day, fish are taught to congregate near the bank, at the

sound of a bell, or some other signal.

<sup>82</sup> Such an *imitatio ruris* was also to be found in the middle of the splendid park of Tusculum. Plin. *Ep.* v. 6, 35. Does the ridicule of Martial (iii. 48) allude to the same thing?

straight alley of plane-trees, clad from the trunk to the loftiest branches with dark green ivy, which climbing from one tree to another, hung down in natural festoons; this was the *hippodrome*, which, after extending more than a thousand paces in a straight line, made a semicircular turn, and then ran back parallel to the first alley. Adjoining this was a second shady path for a similar purpose, enclosing one great oval, which, however, being less broad than the other, was only used for a promenade in the *lectica*. Not far from hence was the most captivating spot in the garden, where tall shady elms entwined with luxuriant vines, enclosed a semicircular lawn, the green carpet of which was penetrated by a thousand shooting violets. On the farther side rose a gentle ascent, planted with the most varied roses, that mingled their balmy odours with the perfume of the lilies blooming at its foot. Beyond this were reared the dark summits of the neighbouring mountains, while on the side of the hill a pellucid stream babbled down in headlong career, after escaping from the colossal urn of a nymph, who lay gracefully reclined on the verdant moss<sup>23</sup>, dashed over a mass of rocks, and then with a gentle murmur vanished behind the green amphitheatre. This was the favorite resort of Gallus; there, under the influence, as it were, of the bacchic and erotic deities, statues and groups of whom embellished the intervals between the tall elms, he had written the majority of

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An humble hut, as with us, a hermitage or Swiss cottage, would not appear at all inconceivable in the midst of such a host of other vagaries; but a safer interpretation would be to refer it to poorly-fitted up cells in the house itself, to which the wealthy owner, surfeited with splendour,

might retreat under the pretence of a fit of abstinence; as is often mentioned by Seneca, *Cons. ad Helv.* 12, *Ep.* 18, *Ep.* 100.

<sup>23</sup> After an antique painting in Mus. Borb. ii. tav. 36.

his most recent elegies ; there had he, with Virgil, Propertius, and Lycoris, whiled away many happy hours ; there was he sure of being discovered on the coming morn.

But the remainder of this day was devoted to refreshment and repose ; even his customary game of ball before the refreshing plunge into the cold swimming bath was omitted, and early after the meal he retired to enjoy a comfortable repose in his own chamber.

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## SCENE THE SIXTH.

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### LYCORIS.

POMPONIUS had hurried away from Gallus with the haste of a man, on whose steps success or ruin depended. Lost in thought, he had neither regarded the salutations of the friends who met him, nor heard the declamations of the ill-humoured Calpurnius, and had scarcely remarked that his tardy companion had separated from him at the *forum transitorium*, and taken the direction of the *forum Romanum*. Halting suddenly, he changed his rapid run into a slow and contemplative walk, then stopped still, contracting his forehead in profound reflection, and striking his hand on his breast<sup>1</sup>, as if to summon forth the thoughts within. He drew himself slowly up to his full height, resting the left hand, against the hip, and with the right vehemently slapping his thigh: still no light seemed to penetrate the chaos of his ideas. He snapped his fingers fretfully, shook his head, as if he had renounced the intended errand, but presently his movements became more tranquil; and placing his hand under his chin, he appeared to hold firmly to one idea. A malicious and triumphant smile played about his mouth, as he turned suddenly and called the slave who stood at a little distance, surveying him with astonishment.

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<sup>1</sup> As the language of grimace is very expressive of national peculiarities, especially among more southern nations, it is the more interesting to consider the passages in the ancient writers, which contain descriptions of this nature. Of these, one of the

most important, and on which this narration is based, is Plaut. *Mil.* ii. 2, 46, where the attitudes of Palæstrio, who is brooding over a scheme, are portrayed in the most lively colours.

‘Hasten home immediately,’ said he, ‘bid Dromo repair without delay to the *taberna* of the tonsor Licinus<sup>2</sup>, and await me there. But be quick.’ Away ran the slave; Pomponius proceeded on his way alone, at an increased speed, and having stopped before a handsome house in the *Carinæ*<sup>3</sup>, knocked, and inquired, ‘Is your lord at home?’ ‘To you, yes!’ replied the *ostiarius*; ‘to others, in the *forum*.’ Pomponius hurried through the *atrium*. A *cubicularius* announced and ushered him into a room, where a powerful looking man, of middle age, with a full round face and rather vulgar features, was reclining on a *lectus* and looking over accounts. Near him stood a freed-man with the counting board<sup>4</sup>, and on an adjoining table were piled up two heaps of silver coin, between which stood a purse, probably, of

<sup>2</sup> Licinus, the name of a hair-dresser and barber, celebrated in his day, and made known to posterity by Horace’s mention of him. *Art. Poet.* 301. He is said to have become wealthy by means of his art, and to have received honours by the favour of Augustus. He caused a costly monument to be erected to himself, which drew forth the following epigram :

Marmoreo tumulo Licinus jacet ; at Cato nullo ;  
Pompeius parvo. Quis putet esse deos ?

<sup>3</sup> *Carinæ* was the name of one of the principal streets or rather regions of Rome, (*lautæ Carinæ*, Virg. *Æn.* viii. 361), between the Palatinus, Cælius, and Esquilinus. It contained the palaces of most of the nobles, as Pompeius, Q. Cicero, and others, and also the most respectable *tonstrinæ*, to which number that certainly did

not belong, in which Philippus saw Vulteius : *Cultello proprios purgantem leniter unguet*. Hor. *Ep.* i. 7, 51.

<sup>4</sup> On a relief in the *Mus. Cap.* iv. 20, which Gori supposes to be the adoption of Hadrian by Trajan, a man lies on a *lectus*, holding in the right hand a purse, and in the left a roll. By his side sits a matron, (*Plo-tilla*), and at his feet, behind the couch, stands a man, holding in the left hand a counting-board, or tablet, on which money is reckoned, and to which he points with the fore-finger of the right hand. Gori takes him to be a *libripens* : but apart from the question of the truth of this surmise, it is certain that a scene might very well be represented in which a master is casting up accounts with his *dispensator*, or *procurator*.

higher value : various accounts, *pugillares* with the *stylus*, and an inkstand and writing reed<sup>5</sup>, were lying around.

‘Hail, Largus!’ cried Pomponius, as he entered. ‘To you, also!’ replied the man, ‘but what brings you hither for the second time to-day?’ Pomponius cast a suspicious glance at the freed-man, who, at a nod from Largus, made his exit. ‘Good news!’ was at length his answer. ‘Gallus leaves Rome this very morning, in order that he may forget in the country his vexation of yesterday.’

‘Goes he to the villa?’ enquired the astonished Largus as he raised himself. ‘Aye to the villa, which is I hope soon to be yours,’ replied the other. ‘He will take care that you find the house and garden in the best condition.’

‘And do you call this good news?’ asked Largus. ‘Was it not our plan to elicit, by the help of the mighty Falernian, something of treasonable import, from this passionate braggart? Will you send into Campania the witnesses whom I pay with heavy coin, and the liberty heroes who must draw him into their giddy projects? Or do you imagine that Augustus will assign more importance to discontented expressions, uttered at a retired villa, amidst a parcel of peaceful peasants, than to the voice of rebellion at Rome?’

‘All very true,’ retorted Pomponius. ‘But have we not already proceeded far enough? The copies of the

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<sup>5</sup> This description is taken from a painting of Herculaneum, in which a large purse lies fastened up between two heaps of money : before it stands an inkstand with a writing-reed lying

upon it, and further on, a roll half open, with a label hanging down, *pugillares* with a *stylus*, and a tablet with a handle, on which are seen figures and writing.

pompous inscriptions on the Temples and Pyramids of Egypt, the complaints of Petronius about the oppression of the country, and the highly treasonable talk of yesterday—do you want more threads still, from which to weave a most inextricable net? Or will you wait till his presence in person prove the nullity of our accusations? till Augustus' old friendship for him revive, and his false accusers meet with something more than ridicule? No, far better is it that he go, and without expecting it, receive the blow which is already prepared for him. Then his villa to you: his house in Rome to me, and,'—here he stopped.

Largus had placed his hand on his brow musingly. 'You may be right,' said he: 'but do you feel confidence in the witnesses of yesterday?'

'As much as in myself,' replied the other. 'Still I will have him watched at the villa. There are malcontents too in that neighbourhood, who will quickly muster around him. But doubtless,' continued he, looking the while at the table near him, 'doubtless, we shall want money, with which to bribe his slaves and a witness.'

'What again?' exclaimed Largus, unwillingly. 'Did not I only the other day pay you forty thousand *sesterces*?'

'Certainly!' said Pomponius. 'But you do not reflect what an expense it is to me to be always keeping the society of Gallus; what I have to pay to fishmongers, bakers, butchers, gardeners, and poulterers; what sums I have to disburse for baths, ointments and garlands'—

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<sup>6</sup> These were the kind of people | necessities. Plaut. *Trin.* ii. 4, 5;  
from whom were procured the daily | Terent. *Eun.* ii. 2, 26.

forty thousand sesterces are but a mere pinch of poppy-seeds for an ant-hill<sup>7</sup>. And yet the greater part of it has been received by the spies and Gripus, the indispensable slave of Gallus, to whom indeed I promised again to-day to pay four hundred *denarii*. We must give up the entire enterprize if you grudge the bait wherewith to catch the fish<sup>8</sup>.

‘You come too often;’ said Largus, ‘your bait is an expensive one, and after all it is uncertain whether the fish will bite, or no. But be it so. What sum do you require?’

‘Only twenty thousand. Not more than you have often lost at dice in a single night.’

‘Well then, you shall have them; or will you have gold?’ With these words he reached out his hand to the purse, told forth some hundred pieces of gold, and gave the purse with its remaining contents to Pomponius<sup>9</sup>. ‘Only mind,’ added he, ‘that these are the last.’

Pomponius did not hesitate for an instant, though unattended by a slave; the twenty thousand pieces being too pleasant a burden for him to scruple about carrying them himself. He cast the bag into the folds of his *toga*, agreed on a rendezvous for the evening, and hurried off to the *taberna*, where he had commanded his slave to meet

<sup>7</sup> These are the words of the *Trinummus*: *confit cito, quasi si tu ob-  
jicias formicis papaverem*.

<sup>8</sup> A very favourite comparison of those who made a small sacrifice in order to get a larger gain, was that borrowed from angling, and it was especially applied to *heredipetæ*, legacy-hunters, who sent presents to those on whose property they had a

design. See *Martial*, vi. 63, 5, v. 18, 7.

<sup>9</sup> If forty *aurei* were coined out of the *libra* of gold, the *aureus* would have weighed  $7\frac{1}{2}$  scruples, and been worth 144 *HS.*, reckoning the scruple at 20 *HS.*, in which case 139 *aurei* would have made up the sum of 20,000 *HS.*



him. He there found a comical little person already waiting for him; whose huge and unshapely head sitting closely upon his shoulders, as if he had no neck, ragged red hair and purple lips contrasting strangely with the blackish tint of his face, from which a couple of most cunning eyes gleamed forth, fat pot-belly and equally substantial pair of short legs, which had a secure basis in his large broad feet, formed a complete caricature<sup>10</sup>. But, in spite of his corpulence, his whole figure was full of life and activity; with keen eye he observed every thing that passed around him, and none of the conversation, or news that the company leisurely discussed, escaped his attentive ear. Having perceived the entrance of his master, he approached him with a careless salutation.—‘It is well that you have already arrived,’ said Pomponius, looking round the *taberna* for some seat, where he might speak to his slave without being overheard: but the *tonstrina* was too full of company to allow of it<sup>11</sup>. Whilst on the one side the tonsor and

<sup>10</sup> So Harpax describes Pseudolus. Plaut. *Pseud.* iv. 6, 120. A similar description of the *pseudo-saurea Leonidas*, is to be found in the *Asinaria*, ii. 3, 20.

<sup>11</sup> In the *tonstrina*, the hair was cut, the beard shorn, and the nails cleaned. The shearing of the beard took place either *per pectinem*, over the comb, when it was only shortened, *tondebatur*, or it was shaved clean from the skin, *radebatur*, with the razor, *novacula*, which the tonsor kept in a *theca*. Petr. 94. The passage in Plaut. *Capt.* ii. 2, 16, is amusing on account of the play upon the word *tondere*. Many persons

plucked out the stray hairs from the face with fine pincers, *volsellæ*, or destroyed them by means of salves, *psilothrum*, and *dropax*, as well as those on other parts of the body. Mart. iii. 74. The ingredients of such salves are given by Plin. xxxii. 10, 47. The *volsellæ* for plucking out the beard are mentioned by Martial, (ix. 28), who jokes at a man who shaved his beard in three ways. viii. 47. Almost all the implements of the tonsor are enumerated by Plaut. *Curcul.* iv. 4, 21. Persons of wealth and distinction had their own barber among the slave-family, who, if skilful, was much prized. Hence we read in Martial an *epitaphium* on

his assistants practised their art; encircling one with a linen cloth, passing the razor over the chin of another, or pulling out with a fine pair of tweezers, from a third, a few hairs which disfigured the smoothness of his arm; on the other were formed several knots of idlers, who were conversing upon the news of the day.

‘There is no place here free from listeners,’ said Pomponius, ‘but, in every part are people, who without being asked, or paid for it, busy themselves about other persons’ business<sup>12</sup>. Come into the street; we shall be quieter in the adjoining *basilica*.’ The slave followed him. ‘Dromo,’ began his master, as they gained the street, ‘I have an important commission for you, and rely upon your caution and activity in the execution of it. Gallus travels this morning to his Campanian villa. Lycoris is to follow him to Baiæ. I suspect, in consequence of the suddenness of his departure, that he will summon her thither in writing. Do you take care that the letter comes into my hands. Employ every means,—trickery, treachery, corruption, every thing save violence.’

‘Very good,’ replied the slave; ‘but corruption requires money; and the *tabellarii* of Gallus are the most

such a slave, Pantagathus by name, who is called *domini cura dolorque sui*, vi. 52. Still the majority repaired to the *tonstrinae*, and hence they became places of resort, visited by idlers for the sake of gossiping, and where they used to stop long after the tonsor had fulfilled his duty upon them.

<sup>12</sup> Plaut. *Truc.* i. 2, 35. *Suo vestimento et cibo alienis rebus cu-*

*rare*. The meaning of which is, whoever is not in the service of another, is not called upon to busy himself with that person’s affairs. So Rudens, i. 2, 91, the master says to his slave, who is pursuing with his eyes the two women swimming towards them:

Si tu de illarum cœnatus vesperi es,  
Illis curandum censeo, Sceparnio.  
Si apud me esurus es, mi operam dari  
volo.

honest donkeys<sup>13</sup> in existence. Gripus could certainly be of assistance to us,' he continued thoughtfully; 'but he is an insatiable fellow, who never does any thing without being well paid for it.'

'There shall be no lack of money,' interrupted Pomponius, as he produced the purse. 'Here is gold! pure gold! which will buy him drink in the *popinæ* for months. Come into the *basilica*, that I may give it you.'

'Now then,' said Dromo, 'we shall be able to manage it. But suppose the communication of Gallus were to be an oral and not a written one? But I'll provide for that also; rely upon me, that before the bell summons to the bath, you shall have the letter, or measures shall at least have been taken to prevent any message reaching Lycoris except through you.'

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The sixth hour was past, and there was less bustle in the *popinæ*. Only here and there remained a guest, who could not break from the sweet mead, and the maid who waited on him; or was still resting, heavy and over-

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<sup>13</sup> The Romans had a vast number of words of abuse, many of which were very coarse. See Plaut. *Pseud.* i. 3, 126, where however only a small selection is to be found; but they seldom used the name of any animal as a term of contempt. The *bos* was never a word of abuse, and even *asinus*, which does occasionally occur, they use in quite a different sense from ours. So in Plaut. *Pseud.* i. 2, 4, it refers to the laziness and insensibility to blows. On the other hand, in Ter. *Eunuch.* iii. 5, 50, it merely means a man who is fit for

nothing, has no skill, as in the proverb, *Asinus ad tibiam*, or *ad lyram*. Adelph. v. 8, 12. *Quid tu autem huic, asine auscultas?* sounds more plausible; but we cannot infer from this, that it was generally used as a word of abuse. Besides *canis*, which is very usual, *vervex*, sheep, simpleton, sometimes occurs, (Juven. x. 50; Plaut. *Merc.* iii. 3, 6; Plaut. *Mos-tell.* i. 1, 39), *verres*, (Mil. iv. 2, 63), *vulturius*, and *cuculus* are not unfrequently used, but all with a special reference.

come by his sedulous attentions to the fluids. In a small *taberna* of the Subura sat two slaves, draining a goblet, which apparently was not their first. The one was a youth of pleasing exterior, numbering little more than twenty years, whose open and honest-looking countenance was in a rubicund glow, while his reddening neck and the swelling veins of his full round arms shewed plainly that the earthen vessel before him contained something besides vinegar<sup>14</sup>. The other, whose age might be between thirty and forty, inspired the beholder with less confidence; his bold and reckless mien, lips turned up scornfully, and rough merriment, betokened one of those slaves who, confiding in the kind disposition of their master, and the thickness of their own backs, were accustomed to bid defiance to all the elm-staves and thongs in the world.

‘But now drink, Cerinthus!’ exclaimed the latter to his younger companion, as he quaffed the remainder of his goblet. Why, you take it as if I ordered nothing but Vatican, and yet the landlord has given us the best Sabine in his cellar; and I assure you that the Falernian that I slyly sipped behind the column at the late banquet, was scarcely so good.’

‘In truth, Gripus,’ answered the young slave, ‘the wine is excellent, but I fear I shall be drinking too much. My temples burn, and if I taste more, I may be tipsy when I go to Lycoris. You know how Gallus insists on order and punctuality.’

‘Gallus, indeed!’ said the other, ‘why he drinks more than we do. Besides he has to-day gone into the country, and the old grumbler Chresimus with him; therefore we now

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<sup>14</sup> Vinegar-water, *posca*, a common drink of soldiers in the field, | (Spart. *Hadr.* 19), as well as of slaves. Plaut. *Mil.* iii. 2, 23.

are free, and moreover it's my birth-day, and as nobody has invited me, why, I'll be merry at my own expense.'

As he thus spake, a third person entered the *popina*. 'Ah! well met,' cried the fat little figure; 'I salute ye both.'

'Oh! welcome Dromo,' exclaimed Gripus, as if surprised at his appearance. 'You have come at the happiest possible moment. Our lord is set out on a journey, and I am now celebrating my birth-day.'

'How, your birth-day? Excellent! We must make a rich offering to the genius. But by Mercury and Laverna, your glasses are empty. Holloa! damsel, wine here! Why, by Hercules, I believe ye have ordered but a glass each. A *lagena* here!' cried he, throwing a piece of gold on the table, 'and larger goblets, that we may drink to the name of our friend.'

The *lagena* came. 'The name has six letters,' exclaimed Dromo; 'let six *cyathi* be filled.' 'But not unmixed, surely?' put in Cerinthus. 'What cares the genius about water?' replied the other. 'To Gripus' health! How, Cerinthus, you won't shirk, surely? Bravo! drained to the bottom, so that the genius may look down brightly upon us. So Gallus has departed from Rome? To the Falernian region for certain? Well, he knows how to live! An excellent master! We'll drink to his well-being also. Actually just the same number of letters. Now, Cerinthus, health to your lord!' 'Long life and happiness to him,' cried the other, already intoxicated, as he emptied the goblet.

'One thing is still wanting. Come hither, Chione, and drink with us. By Hercules, though, a spruce lass.'

'True,' stammered out Cerinthus, with some difficulty,

as he drew the unresisting damsel towards him; 'you seem to me even prettier than before'<sup>15</sup>. 'Oh! that is because you are now in merrier mood,' replied the female, smiling. 'Yes,' cried he, 'the proverb is true which says that "without Ceres and Bacchus, Venus is but a frosty affair."' 'What say you?' interrupted Gripus, who thought this was the right moment for the prosecution of his scheme; 'she was always pretty; Lycoris herself has not finer eyes.'

The name struck the ear of Cerinthus, in spite of his drunkenness, like a clap of thunder. He tried to spring up, but his feet refused their office, and he leaned reeling against the damsel.

'What's the matter, man? Whither would you go?' exclaimed the other two. 'To Lycoris,' stammered he. 'You don't suppose I'm drunk, do ye?' 'Oh no,' said Gripus, 'but you seem weak and fatigued.' 'How? I fa-fatigued'<sup>16</sup>?' He tried to depart, but after a few paces sank down. 'Take a sleep for a little while,' said Gripus, 'and let me have charge of your letter, and I'll immediately carry it to its destination.' The drunken man nodded assent, and produced the tablets. Dromo obtained from the landlord a place for the unconscious slave to sleep in, paid the score, and hurried off with Gripus.

The bustle of the day had ceased, the last twilight of evening was already beginning to yield to the darkness

<sup>15</sup> In Terent. *Eun.* iv. 5, 4, this is said by Chremes, who is somewhat tipsy, to Pythias, and she answers similarly :

CH. — Vah! quanto nunc formosior  
Videre mihi quam dudum. PY. Certe

tu quidem pol multo hilarior.  
CH. Verbum hercle hoc verum erit: Sine  
Cerere et Libero friget Venus.

<sup>16</sup> See Plaut. *Most.* i. 4, 18.

of night, and all who, but a few hours before, were enlivening the streets, had now retired home to rest. In the Subura alone, though the business of the day had subsided, it was only to be succeeded by activity of another kind. Here and there persons with muffled faces<sup>17</sup>, glided cautiously along; and shrouded forms stealing to and fro about the streets, slipped into the well-known *cellæ*, or sought new acquaintances in houses, the doors of which, adorned with foliage, and lit up with numerous lamps, announced them to be newly-opened temples of Venus<sup>18</sup>. Now and then a door would gape, and, the curtain being drawn aside, allowed a glimpse

<sup>17</sup> On such occasions to prevent being recognised, the garments were drawn over the head, or concealed it in a *cucullus*. So we read of Antoninus, who wished to surprize his love. *Cic. Phil.* ii. 31; *Juven.* vi. 330. viii. 145. See Appendix; art. *The Male Attire*.

<sup>18</sup> There does not seem to have been any street-lighting at Rome, till very late, as no mention is made of it before the fourth century. As far as Rome is concerned, I find no proof of it at all. For when Beckmann (*Beitr.* i.) quotes from Amm. Marc. xiv. 1, he overlooks entirely the fact that it is not Rome but Antiochia that is alluded to. The lighting of the streets in this city in the fourth century, had already been placed beyond a doubt by the passages in Libanius. In another passage of the *Cod. Justin.* viii. 12, 19, the lighting of the baths merely is meant, concerning which see the Appendix; art. *The Baths*. Lastly, the burning of the Christians, *Tacit. Annal.* xv. 44, cannot possibly afford

any proof of a regular lighting.

General illuminations of whole towns were not unusual among the ancients. Apart from the usage of the Egyptians and Jews, (*Bähr ad Herod.* ii. 62), perhaps the earliest known instance of it in Rome is that where this honour was paid to Cicero after the quelling of the Cataline conspiracy. *Plut. Cic.* 22. Caligula caused the bridge of Puteoli on which he dined to be brilliantly illuminated. *Dio Cass.* lix. 17. As Tiridates entered Rome with Nero, the whole city was illuminated. *Dio Cass.* lxxiii. 4. And also when Nero returned from Greece. *Dio Cass.* lxxiii. 20; and when Septimius Severus made his entrance, lxxiv. 1; and in honour of Elagabalus, lxxiv. 16. *Martial* mentions such illuminations, x. 6, 4.

The custom here mentioned of decking with garlands and illuminating new *lupanaria*, as if it was the house of a bridal, is proved from *Tertull. Apologet.* 35; *ad uxor.* ii. The same was the case on birth and wedding days.

into brilliantly-lighted chambers, where youths, surrounded by unblushing females in immodest costumes, were passing their time in riotous enjoyment<sup>19</sup>. Here and there, too, sat some rejected lover, on the solitary threshold of a hard hearted *libertina*, hoping by entreaties and perseverance to soften the coy beauty<sup>20</sup>.

Towards the end of the street, where the ascent of the Cœlian hill commenced, there stood, somewhat retired, a small but cheerful-looking house, which had evidently nothing in common with the public resorts of the vicinity ; for there was no *taberna* to be seen, nor was the threshold crossed by the step of any visitor ; it might almost have been supposed uninhabited, but for the gleam of lamps that pierced through some of the windows. Now, however, two men might be seen approaching the *vestibulum*, both dressed as slaves, with the *pænula* drawn over their heads. The shorter of the two stopped at some distance off, while the other, whose carriage seemed to accord but ill with his dress, went to the door and knocked.

‘Who are you?’ enquired the *ostiarius*<sup>21</sup>. ‘A *tabellarius* from Gallus.’ The porter opened the door and demanded the letter. ‘My commission is an oral one,’ said the other ; ‘lead me to Lycoris.’ The porter surveyed the muffled stranger doubtfully. ‘Why does not Cerinthus come?’ he inquired. ‘He is sick,’ was the reply. ‘But what does it concern you to whom my lord

<sup>19</sup> Such is really related by Petron. c. 7.

<sup>20</sup> See Horat. iii. 10, l. 25 ; Tib. i. 1, 56 ; Prop. i. 16 ; Ovid. *Amor.* . 6, ii. 19, 21.

<sup>21</sup> So the *ostiarius* to Antonius, who had also knocked, and stated himself to be a *tabellarius*. Cic. *Phil.* ii. 31.



entrusts his messages? It is late; bring me to your mistress.'

Lycoris was occupied in packing various sorts of female ornaments, in a neat box of cedar-wood, placing them for security between layers of soft wool. Her light *tunica*, without sleeves, had become displaced by her movements, and slidden down over the left arm<sup>23</sup>, disclosing something more than the dazzling shoulder, upon which the black hair descended in long ringlets. She was, it is true, no longer in possession of the youthful freshness and child-like naïveté that had fixed the love of Gallus when first he saw her, but the exquisite roundness of her form was not less attractive than ever, so that at the age of twenty-five<sup>24</sup>, she was still a blooming, beauteous woman. Her several female attendants were also busy packing up apparel and other things in flat baskets and boxes, and every thing gave symptoms of preparation for a journey.

'Lay the *palla* once more under this press,' said she to the maidens, 'and the *tunica* also. Have you put in the stomachers, too, Cypassis?' The damsel answered in the affirmative. 'Then go and see with Lydus and Anthrax about the plate necessary to be taken with us<sup>24</sup>.' The hand-maidens departed. Lycoris was putting together

<sup>23</sup> The wide opening for the neck, and the broad holes for the arms, caused the light *tunica*, on every occasion of the person's stooping, to slip down over the arm. Artists appear to have been particularly fond of this drapery.

<sup>24</sup> An accurate calculation of the age of Lycoris in the year 728, A. U. C. is neither possible, nor of any importance here. If we suppose the

*Eclogues* of Virgil to have been written 718 A. U. C., and that Lycoris was at that time a girl of fifteen, she would have been, at the period of the downfall of Gallus, of the age assigned here to her, twenty-five.

<sup>24</sup> It is to be supposed that persons used to take their own plate with them, even on short journeys, because the inns, which could not be avoided, were but mean. Mart. vi. 94.

some necessaries for the toilet, when the porter announced the messenger from Gallus. 'At last!' said Lycoris. 'Admit him.'

The *ostiarius* bade the person come in, and then retired to his post; but the mysterious behaviour of the pretended *tabellarius* had made him uneasy, and he therefore directed a female slave, who met him, to watch by the door of her mistress. The slave placed her ear against the door, but the curtain within deadened the sounds, and she could hear nothing distinctly. At last their conversation became more animated, and their voices louder; the door opened, and the man hurried hastily away, disguised as he had entered. The attendant found Lycoris in the most extreme state of excitement. 'We must away from hence this very night,' cried she. 'Send Lydus to me.' The slave received orders to hire two *rhedæ* immediately. The preliminaries of the journey were then hastened, and before the end of the third night-watch, Lycoris, with a portion of her slaves, was already beyond the Capenan gate.

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## SCENE THE SEVENTH.

### A DAY IN BAIÆ.

IF any place of antiquity could lay claim to be considered as the very abode of pleasure and free living, it assuredly was Baiæ<sup>1</sup>, by far the most renowned bathing-place of Italy, and selected equally by Aphrodite and Comus, as by Hygieia, for a favourite residence. Nature had decked the coast of Campania, on which Baiæ was situated, with all the charms of a southern climate; art and the taste of the Roman patricians had still further heightened the beauty of the landscape by the erection of magnificent villas. The lofty towers<sup>2</sup> of these gorgeous palaces which lined the

<sup>1</sup> Baiæ asserted a decided pre-eminence over the baths of Italy,—(whence Martial, vi. 42, 7, amongst many other baths, mentions *Baias principes*, and its name is used by poets as an appellation for baths generally, Tibull. iii. 5, 3; Mart. x. 13, 3), and was considered by the ancients in general a most attractive place, and life there to be the most pleasant:

Nullus in orbe sinus Baiis præluet amœnis, says Horace, *Epist.* i. 1, 83, and all writers making mention of it concur in this eulogy. Mart. xi. 80. Zell has described the position and beauties of this place. Andr. Baccius briefly extols its advantages. 'The city lay,' says he, 'on the left shore of the sea, surrounded by a circle of hills covered with green: to the north, at a distance of five Roman miles, (*millia passuum*), lay Cumæ, three miles nearer the Lacus Avernus;

southwards, distant three miles, was Misenum, and Puteoli, the same distance across the Bay. The extraordinary mildness of the climate made it an agreeable place of sojourn, even in winter, and there was no season of the year when the trees did not present fruits, and the gardens flowers.' Comp. Strabo, v. 4, 187; Dio Cassius, xlviii. 51.

<sup>2</sup> By towers are to be understood parts of the house, built several stories above the rest of the building, to allow of a distant prospect. Pliny had two such in his *Laurentinum*. He says of one (ii. 17, 12): *Hinc turris erigitur, sub qua diatæ duæ, totidem in ipsa: præterea cœnatio, quæ latissimum mare, longissimum litus, æmœnissimas villas prospicit*. So the *turres* (Tibull. i. 7, 19) appear to be rightly explained by Heyne. It may be well imagined that the villæ around

coast, commanded a view right across the bay to the open sea, whilst the villas of more humble pretensions, erected by the more serious men of former times<sup>3</sup> looked down like strong castles from the neighbouring heights. Just opposite, and in the direction of the not far distant Nauplia, lay the fair Puteoli. On the right, after doubling the promontory, was Misenum with its renowned haven, the station of the Roman fleet, and close by lay Cumæ, hallowed by ancient sagas, and near the latter was the lake Avernus, which, with the smiling plain adjoining it, seemed to represent on earth the contrast between the terrors of Hades, and the happiness of Elysium.

But fashion and the joyous mode of life, even more than the charms of the scenery, rendered Baiæ a most delightful place of sojourn. Besides invalids who hoped to obtain relief from the healing springs and warm sulphur-baths<sup>4</sup>, there streamed thither a much larger number

Baiæ, the neighbourhood of which displayed everywhere the most magnificent views, were also provided with such *turres*. The environs of Baiæ were not considered healthy, as we see from Cicero's letter to Dolabella, (ix. 12), and therefore the villas were built as far out into the sea as possible, and probably higher than was usual.

<sup>3</sup> Seneca, who took such offence at the mode of life at Baiæ, that he left on the second day after arriving there, praises the choice of those men. *Epist.* 51. *Illi quoque, ad quos primos fortuna Romani populi publicas opes transtulit, C. Marius, et Cn. Pompeius, et Caesar, extruxerunt quidem villas in regione Baiana, sed illas imposuerunt summis jugis*

*montium*. They looked more like *castra* than *villæ*. But beside these there were splendid palaces built round the whole bay, which, with the towns lying upon it, presented the appearance of one vast city. Strabo, v. 4, p. 200 Sieb. Comp. Dio Cass. above.

<sup>4</sup> The springs at Baiæ were of very different ingredients, and the sanatory powers manifold. Plin. xxxi. 2, 2. Chief of all were the hot sulphureous vapours which sprang up in many places, and particularly on the heights, and were used as baths to promote perspiration. Such *sudatoria* were not only situated in the town of Baiæ itself, but close to the spot where the vapours rose from the ground. Vitruv. ii. 6. These hot

of persons in health, having no other end in view than the pursuit of pleasure, and who, leaving behind them the cares and formalities of life, resigned themselves wholly to enjoyment, in whatever shape it was offered. One continual *saturnalia* was there celebrated, in which even the more reserved suffered themselves to be carried away by the intoxication of pleasure, whilst follies, which in Rome would have drawn down reproof, were scarcely regarded as imputations on character, or such only as the next bath would entirely efface. The intercourse between the sexes in society was of a much more free description, and none but a stoic would look askance when wanton *hetairæ*, surrounded by thoughtless youths, skimmed by, in gaudily-painted gondolas, while song and music resounded from the skiffs of many a troop of revellers, who were rocking lazily on the level surface of the bay.

Of course pleasure did not always confine itself within the bounds of innocence, and connubial fidelity doubtless underwent severe trials<sup>5</sup>, to which it not unfrequently yielded. If we consider, besides, that the sight of a

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streams of vapour were conducted by means of pipes into the buildings. Dio Cass. xlviii. 51. Of this kind was the bath *ad myrteta*, celebrated by Hor. *Epist.* i. 15, 5, which also lay outside the town, and probably on an eminence. Celsus, ii. 17. If the bath was visited by numerous invalids on account of the efficacy of its waters, yet, doubtless, far greater numbers came from Rome, merely for the sake of pleasure, to Naples, and the neighbourhood, which seemed places created entirely for a life of ease and pleasure. Strab. v. 4, 190.

Dio Cassius, *supra*. Hence Cicero also, (*pro Cæl.* 20), especially dwells on the free manner in which Clodia demeaned herself, not only *in urbe*, *in hortis*, but *in Baiarum illa celebritate*. Whenever it is desired to fix the number of visitors at a bath, Baiæ is taken as a scale to go by. Strab. v. 2, 143.

<sup>5</sup> The warning uttered by Propertius, i. 11, 27, to Cynthia, is well known. Martial jokes on a case at Baiæ, of a Penelope becoming transformed into a Helen, i. 63.

drunken man, fresh from the daily or nightly debauch, was by no means uncommon<sup>6</sup>, and that gambling was carried to a great height, it will not appear strange that a severe moralist should have pronounced the captivating spot to be 'a seat of voluptuousness, and a harbour of vice'. Still it must not be overlooked, that this reputation was in a great measure attributable to the publicity with which pleasure was pursued, as well as to a reckless display of folly, and that the wantonness there concentrated in one spot, and wholly unveiled to the public eye, was perhaps less deserving of reprobation, than the licentiousness which, in the metropolis, was hidden in darkness and carried on in secrecy. The judgment thus pronounced on life in Baiæ resembles generally that passed by Poggi, at the end of the fifteenth century, on Baden in Switzerland. It might almost be fancied from his description, that the antique mode of living had obtained an asylum beyond the Alps, and that the manners of Baiæ had existed at Baden, in all their grace and refinement, for centuries after they had died away in their native abodes, and after the whirl of delights, that had animated this once favourite spot, had been succeeded by a mournful desolation. For

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<sup>6</sup> *Baias sibi celebrandas luxuria desumpsit*, says Seneca, *Ep.* 51; and his picture of the life there is true in the main, although drawn in somewhat glowing colours. We see however that such pictures as these did not suit only the habits of the more debauched time of the emperors, for Cœlius has similar imputations cast upon him by his accusers. *Cic. pro Cœl.* 15. Seneca particularly

adverts to the fact that people made an open display of their debauchery, and Cicero corroborates his statement, at least as regards Clodia, *ibid.* 20. What this woman did at Baiæ, would not have happened so publicly at Rome.

<sup>7</sup> Seneca, in the often mentioned letter: *diversorium vitiorum*.

the same reasons that Poggi could find nothing repulsive in the unrestrained merriment of Baden, in the intercourse of the sexes, and even in the baths common to them both, so also many an imputation that has been cast on Baiæ, will admit of being softened, provided the customs of those times be not judged by those of the present day, nor a general depravity be inferred from individual irregularities.

Lycoris had been already some days in Baiæ without informing Gallus of her arrival, for though very desirous of seeing him again, she was at the same time in the most painful state of indecision, as to whether she should reveal to him, or keep concealed, the occurrence of that evening.

Pomponius had sadly deceived himself. Having been forbidden the house, he determined to obtain entrance by personating a messenger from Gallus, in order to prevent her intended journey to Baiæ, and with this view had caused her residence to be watched during the remainder of the day after his conversation with Dromo. As nobody entered it, who could give intelligence of the departure of Gallus, and only a few of the slaves of Lycoris had gone into the neighbouring *tabernæ* to purchase things that happened to be wanted, or to fetch clothes from the *fullo*, he fancied himself perfectly secure; but he never dreamt that old Chresimus immediately after receiving his orders, had dispatched his *vicarius* to Lycoris to carry her the sum of money destined for her use, and inform her of the whole plan of the journey.

When therefore he entered her presence, under the pretence that Gallus had sent him to tell her, by word of mouth, that he wished her to remain at Rome during

his absence, or go to the Tuscan<sup>a</sup> baths, and, wrongly interpreting her astonishment, proceeded to excite her jealousy by hinting that the beautiful Chione had accompanied him to Campania, and when, taking advantage of her increasing displeasure, he had approached confidently, and conjured her to renew their former *liaison* — the enormity of his schemes was at once revealed to her. Full of wrath, she spurned him from her, and stated how well she was acquainted with the wishes of Gallus, who had summoned her to meet him at Baiæ on the following day. Pomponius was surprised, but became sensible at once that the whole apartment shewed signs of an approaching journey. ‘To Baiæ,’ said he, scornfully, ‘and then for a cooling to the snow fields of Mœsia! Out of the *thermæ* into the *frigidarium*!’

‘Villain!’ cried the enraged Lycoris, well guessing the meaning of his words, ‘worthless betrayer, whom I have long seen through! Away! leave my presence, and be assured that, before three days are past, Gallus shall be undeceived about you!’

<sup>a</sup> Italy was, and is still rich in both warm and cold medicinal springs; especially Campania and Etruria. Of the latter, Strabo speaks, v. 2, 143. Mart. vi. 42, mentions a number of spas, which must all have a certain celebrity, since he compares them with the *thermæ Etrusci*.

Nec fontes Aponi rudes puellis,  
Non mollis Sinuessa, fervidique  
Fluctus Passeris, aut superbus Anxur,  
Non Phœbi vada, principesque Baiæ.

Of these, four belong to Campania and its environs, and only one, *Phœbi vada*, *Cæretanæ aquæ*, to Etruria. But several, as the cold *aquæ Clusinae*, could not be compared with

*Thermæ*. Naples<sup>b</sup> also had warm baths, which, however, from their proximity to Baiæ, were not much frequented. Strab. v. 4, 197.

<sup>b</sup> The punishment of banishment was rendered more severe under the emperors, and even as early as the time of Augustus, by the convict being not only expelled from Italy, but also exiled to some fixed spot in a distant region. Mœsia, on the confines of the Roman empire, against which Ovid, who was banished thither, raised such bitter complaints, was as terrible to the Romans, as Siberia is to a Russian.



‘As you will,’ replied he, with malicious coldness, ‘and if you lack evidence I will add a testimony from the *columna lactaria*.’

Lycoris turned pale. Profiting by her confusion, Pomponius was again about to approach her, when he was interrupted by a noise from the slave who was listening at the door; so, hastily drawing the *pænula* over his head, he hurried away.

His threats had not failed in their effect. Fearful of some new audacity, Lycoris set out the same night from Rome, but, though convinced of the necessity of warning Gallus against the traitor, she hesitated to see him, for she greatly dreaded to make confession of her former guilt. On the third evening she sat afflicted in her own apartment. By her side were two female slaves, busy, the one in loosening her braided hair, and letting it fall in long ringlets over her shoulders and neck, preparatory to collecting it in the golden caul<sup>10</sup>; the other, in untying the snow-white thongs of her shoes. On the floor stood a tall bronze *candelabrum*, partly of Tarentine, and partly of Æginetan, workmanship. A beautifully-formed winged sphinx surmounted the delicately-fluted shaft, and bore the plate, decorated with the ornaments of the Ionic capital<sup>11</sup>, upon which was an elegant two-flamed lamp of the same metal, which sufficiently illumi-

<sup>10</sup> Not only by night, but also for convenience by day, and especially when busied in household affairs, the women drew a net over the head, encircling the hair, *reticulum*, κέκρυφαλος. Juven. ii. 96, reprimands the men for indulging in this effeminate habit. These hair-nets were frequently made of gold thread, as we

see from engravings in the *Mus. Borb.* iv. t. 49, viii. t. 4, 5. vi. t. 18. Hence in Juvenal, *reticulum auratum*.

<sup>11</sup> This description is taken from a particularly elegant bronze candelabrum, somewhat more than five palms in height, given in the *Mus. Borb.*

nated the small chamber. Against one wall there stood an elegant couch covered with purple, on which Lycoris could recline during the evening, whilst her two hand-maidens employed at their looms, entertained her with the various gossip of the day; and close to it was a small three-footed table, on which the slave had recently placed a crystal ewer of fresh spring-water.

The attendant had just taken the shoes from the feet of her mistress, when footsteps were heard at the door. The curtain was drawn back, and Gallus entered. With a cry of joy Lycoris sprang up from the *cathedra*, and with bare feet and dishevelled hair, as she was, threw herself upon the neck of her lover<sup>12</sup>.

Gallus had learned from the slaves who followed him to the villa, the hurried departure of Lycoris, and was glad of the opportunity of surprising her, when quite unprepared to receive him. Intending only to spend a few days in Baiæ, he had hired lodgings above the grand bath, where rooms for strangers were always ready<sup>13</sup>. This abode was certainly none of the quietest, for the apartments beneath resounded very early in the morning with the most unpleasant noises. At Baiæ, where

iv. t. 57, a copy of which, with further information on the subject, is given in the Appendix; art. *The Lighting*.

<sup>12</sup> See Tibull. i. 3, 89.

<sup>13</sup> There were several public baths in and around Baiæ, and above them

were lodgings for the reception of strangers. See Seneca, *Epist.* 56. Another story was probably erected over the baths. Hence we find in a rescript of Septimus Severus and Antoninus, *Cod. Just.* viii. 10, 1: *Et balneum, ut desideras, extruere, et ædificium ei superponere potes, observata tamen forma, qua cæteris*

all serious thoughts were banished, people used to bathe as their pleasure alone dictated, and not merely during the later hours of the day; indeed, many might be seen splashing about in the swimming baths two or three times in the course of the day: hence the noise of the baths was endless<sup>14</sup>. The *sphæristerium* resounded with the cries of the exhilarated ball-players, and the loud groans of those, who were swinging the heavy leaden weights, and the baths re-echoed with the splash of swimmers, or the sudden plunge of divers. Here one person was complacently making trial of his voice in a song, there another was engaged in hot dispute, or perhaps a loud cry was raised after a thief who had been detected in stealing<sup>15</sup> some of the clothes of the bathers. If the hour of *cœna* or *prandium* were approaching, the sellers of provisions might be heard, offering their goods: *libarii* with sweet cakes, *crustularii* with the favourite slices of toasted honey-bread, *botularii* with sausages, as well as the servants of the numerous *tabernæ* about the baths, with eggs, *lactuca*,

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*super balneum ædificare permittitur*, etc. There were also people who made a trade of letting out lodgings to strangers, as was also the case in Rome. This was called *cœnaculariam exercere*, (Dig. ix. 3, 5), which of course comprehends the lodgers living in the place.

<sup>14</sup> The whole is from Seneca, (*Ep.* 56), who was compelled to hear the disturbance.

<sup>15</sup> The more affluent were attended to the bath by a slave, who not only carried the necessary utensils, but

also guarded the clothes of his master. So says Martial (xii. 70) of Aper even, who was by no means wealthy. There were, besides, persons in the baths appointed to take care of the garments, *capsarii*. Paull. Dig. i. 15, 3. In spite of this it often happened that the bathers had their clothes stolen from them. Plaut. *Rud.* ii. 3, 51; Catull. 30. *O fur optime balneariorum*. Hence in the pandects there is a special head; xlvii. 17: *De furibus balneariis*. Comp. also Petron. 30, where the slave complains: *Subducta sibi vestimenta dispensatoris in balneo*.

*lacertæ*, and other dishes, all loudly eulogizing the excellence of their articles, and each uttering his commendations in his own peculiar cry<sup>16</sup>.

Gallus took advantage of the morning to bathe, as an excursion on the lake with Lycoris had been arranged for the time of the *prandium*. The decoration of the saloons, especially of those in which the frescoes on the walls and ceilings were not exposed to injury from heat or damp, was far superior to that of any similar establishment in the metropolis. The natural springs were warm, but there were also cold baths for those who preferred bathing in clear spring-water, rather than in the muddy white<sup>17</sup> streams of the *thermæ*. At each end of the *frigidarium* was a huge lion's head of bronze, from

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<sup>16</sup> Just as we have people crying their wares in the streets, so were there persons of this description to be found in the baths, as mentioned by Seneca. We find the receipt for making the *liba* in Cato, *R. R.* 75. But they were not always of such simple ingredients, and the word frequently seems to be identical with *placenta*. At least Isid. *Orig.* xx. 2, 17, says: *Placenta sunt, quæ fiunt de farre, quas alii liba dicunt*. So *crustula* also, known through Horat. *Sat.* i. 1, 25, denotes perhaps pastry-work, *dulcia*, generally. Comp. *Ruperti Juven.* ix. 5. The explanation of the scholiast in both passages is simply *placentæ*. The *institores popinarum* evidently correspond to our *Marqueurs*. Many persons took a *promulsio* in the bath. *Martial*, xii. 19. We may conclude from Seneca (*Epist.* 57, and *Mart.* v. 70) that there were all sorts of eating-houses around the baths. The servants from

these *popinæ* used to offer their eatables for sale in the halls of the bath. There were certainly among the *tabernæ* lying around the bath at Pompeii, such eating-houses.

<sup>17</sup> Perfectly clear water was a main desideratum at the bath, and it seems that they even cleared it by artificial means, when it came muddy through the pipes. Seneca says, in the eighty-sixth letter, of the ancient times compared with his own: *Nec referre credebant, in quam perlucida sordes deponerent*; and of Scipio: *Non saccata aqua lavabatur, sed sæpe turbida et, cum plueret vehementius, pæne lutulenta*. For this reason Martial commends the purity of the *aqua Martia* in the *balneum Etrusci*, vi. 42, 19, seqq.; Comp. *Stat.* i. 5, 51, seqq. On the contrary, the warm springs of Baïæ were of a muddy white. *Martial*, vi. 43.

which flowed the water, transparent as air, into large marble-sided cisterns<sup>18</sup>, the party-coloured stone bottoms of which might be clearly discerned<sup>19</sup>. At intervals attractive pictures were placed, contrasting with the yellow colour of the rest of the walls<sup>20</sup>, and through the roof, richly adorned with reliefs, the blue sky was reflected in the limpid flood. Gallus entrusted his clothes to the slave who carried after him the ointment vessels, *strigiles*, and linen cloths<sup>21</sup>, and joined in the pleasures of those who were refreshing themselves in the transparent waters: after which, he was anointed with oils of a sweet perfume in the adjoining *tepidarium*, and then went to conduct Lycoris on the intended excursion.

On the shore of the Lucrine lake<sup>22</sup>, whence these ex-

<sup>18</sup> Such was the arrangement of the bath described by Sidonius, *Ep.* ii. 2, p. 34, Elm.

<sup>19</sup> When Seneca, *Ep.* 86, says, *Eo deliciarum pervenimus, ut nisi gemmas calcare nolimus*, this is naturally to be understood, not of real precious stones, but of variegated marble work or mosaic. We see, for instance, how ingeniously they manufactured floors of various coloured marble, from the beautiful pavement from Pompeii in Zahn, *Ornaments and Paintings*, tab. 87. Such floors ought not to be called 'mosaic,' in which figures are constructed of a number of single pieces placed together, but of themselves representing nothing. There it is different; for the separate pieces are each of them complete figures carved out of marble, and consequently this is only an ingenious specimen of *opus sectile*. In most cases the *labra* and *piscine* were laid with white marble.

<sup>20</sup> The *frigidarium* in Pompeii too was yellow, though not furnished with paintings.

<sup>21</sup> In the *Mus. Pio-Clem.* iii. t. 35, we see such a slave carrying an oil flask and strigil. This gives a perfect commentary on Persius, v. 126: *I puer et strigiles Crispini ad balnea defer.*

<sup>22</sup> The Lucrine lake, as it was called, was nothing but a bay reaching far inland, and separated from the sea by a narrow dam, and though often called by the Roman writers, *lacus*, is named by the Greeks, *κόλπος*. See Strabo, v. 4, 193. On both, parties of pleasure used to be made, as may be gathered from Martial, i. 63, 3, but especially on the Lucrine lake, which, from its calmness, was also called *stagnum*. *Id.* iii. 20, 20; comp. Ovid, *Art. Am.* i. 255, seqq. The *navigia* in Cicero and Seneca allude to this, and on this account it

peditions generally started, Gallus found, among many others, the boat hired for him. It was the prettiest there, and had Aphrodite herself designed it for her own use, she would not have decorated it otherwise<sup>23</sup>. The gay painting of the planks, the purple sails, the rigging, entwined with garlands of fresh leaves and roses, the merry music sounding from the prow, every thing, in short, invited to joy and pleasure. In the after-part of the skiff, a purple awning was erected on tall *thyrsus*-staves, and under it stood a richly loaded table, offering all the enjoyments of a most perfect *prandium* that the *forum cupedinarium* of Baiæ could supply.

Lycoris went the short distance to the lake in a *lectica*, whilst Gallus repaired thither on foot with two friends whom he had accidentally met. The lady looked lovely as the goddess of flowers, as she alighted. Over her snow-white *tunica* were thrown the ample folds of an amethyst-coloured *palla*<sup>24</sup>; round her hair, which was most skilfully arranged and fastened with an elegant gold

is called by Mart. vi. 43, *mollis Lucrinus*.

<sup>23</sup> The skiffs decked with various ornaments are likewise mentioned by Seneca, *Ep.* 51. The purple sails are, it is true, not mentioned, yet such a species of luxury is easily conceivable at Baiæ. Call to mind only what Pliny writes, (xix. l. 5), of Alexander's fleet and of Antony. *Stupuerunt litora flatu versicoloria implente. Velo purpureo ad Actium cum M. Antonio Cleopatra venit eodemque effugit.* And Caligula had vessels of larger size too, *Liburnicas, versicoloribus velis*. Seneca's words, *fluitantem toto lacu rosam*,

can scarcely be taken in their proper acceptation, but seem rather to allude to the companies garlanded with roses, and the adorning of the vessels.

<sup>24</sup> It is well known that the *meretrices* were not permitted to wear either the *stola*, or the *palla*, but only a short *toga* thrown over the *tunica* (see Heindorf *ad Horat. Sat.* i. 2, 63); but away from Rome, and in places where they were less known, they used to conceal their condition and vocation by putting on at least the *palla*, *honestæ mulieris vestimentum*. Afranius in Nonius, xiv. 262.

pin, in the shape of a winged *amor*<sup>25</sup>, was entwined a chaplet of roses; a gorgeous and curiously-twisted necklace adorned her fair neck, and from it depended a string of pearls also set in gold<sup>26</sup>, while golden bracelets, in the form of serpents, in whose eyes glittered fiery rubies, encircled her well-rounded arms<sup>27</sup>. Thus led by Gallus, with her right foot first<sup>28</sup>, in compliance with the warning cry of the boatmen, she entered the festive boat. The light vessel started merrily into the lake, where the occupants of a hundred others exchanged greetings as they passed. They rocked for some hours on the tranquil mirror, during which the men indulged with un-

<sup>25</sup> Böttiger has spoken of the way in which the Roman ladies wore their hair, and of the hair-pins carried for ornament. A similar pin to that here described, though it does not seem of particularly good workmanship, has been found in Pompeii, and a copy of it is given in the *Mus. Borb.* ii. tab. xiv. Bechi considers that it was designed to fasten the garments; but Böttiger has, and as it appears rightly, explained the use of these pins as bodkins or crimping-pins, *acus discriminales*. *Apul. Met.* viii. 543, *crinales*.

<sup>26</sup> Along with the pin just mentioned there was also found a necklace of this sort. It consists of one band of fine gold interlacing, on which are suspended seventy-one pendants, like small ear-drops: at the ends of the chain there is a kind of clasp, on both parts of which there is a frog: at the terminal points where it was clasped there were rubies in settings, one of which is still in existence, and is copied in the *Mus.*

*Borb.* ii. tab. xiv.

<sup>27</sup> Arm-bands in the form of serpents appear to have been very common, and Hesychius says, ὄφεις τὸ χρυσοῦν περιβραχίωνον. In Pompeii too several of the kind have been found. See *Mus. Borb.* supra, and vii. tab. xlv. The latter have actually rubies in the place of eyes.

<sup>28</sup> It was one of the manifold superstitions of the ancients to go with the right foot foremost into any place. *Petron.* 30. *His repleti voluptatibus quum conaremur in triclinium intrare, exclamavit unus ex pueris, qui super hoc officium erat positus: Dextro pede.* Goes has already called attention to the precept of Vitruvius, iii. 8: *Gradus in fronte constituendi sunt, ut semper sint impares, namque, cum dextro pede primus gradus ascenditur, idem in summo templo primus erit ponendus.* Juvenal also, x. 5, alludes to this. Other instances have been cited by Broukh. on *Prop.* iii. 1, 6.

common relish in fresh oysters from the lake, which they washed down with the noble Falernian wine. They then returned to Baiæ, where, after another bath, Gallus spent a delightful evening in the quiet abode of his love, from which might be heard, till a late hour of the night, the sound of the *tabernæ*, and the serenade of some lover<sup>29</sup>, singing, unheard, at the closed doors of his adored one.

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<sup>29</sup> I will not seek to determine whether the *canentium nocturna convicia*, in Seneca, *Ep.* 51, only refer to such serenades; but at all events as the custom is a well known one, they cannot be excluded.

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## SCENE THE EIGHTH.

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### THE DISPLEASURE OF AUGUSTUS.

GALLUS passed a few days at Baiæ with Lycoris and some friends, who happened to be there, in the enjoyment of the agreeable diversions of which the place afforded a rapid succession: he then returned to his villa, where Lycoris promised soon to join him. Hence all were in a bustle at the villa, some in arranging the apartments destined for the fair one, in the most pleasant manner possible, others in decking out afresh her favourite spots in the park, and contriving here and there something new to surprise her. Gallus repaired early in the morning to that lovely spot, where, amidst a cluster of rose-bushes, a charming statue of Flora, had been erected, during his absence; the goddess was placed, as it were, in the very centre of her kingdom, holding dominion over the lovely creations of her power. She was clad in a light and almost transparent *tunica*, loosely confined by a girdle which had carelessly sunk down to her hips. Her left hand grasped its deeply-falling border, in such a manner that the blooming exuberance of the figure might be more than guessed at<sup>1</sup>: her right

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<sup>1</sup> The beautiful *torso* found at the baths of Caracalla, and known as the Farnese Flora, served as the model for this description. *Mus. Borb.* ii. tab. 26. The master-works of Grecian art were often mutilated before they came to Rome, where skilful artists were fortunately found to restore them. See Plin. xxvi. 5, 4. Pictures too were restored, but some-

times spoiled by the incompetency of the persons employed, as the Tragædus et puer of Aristides (Plin. xxxv. 10, 36); and it was fortunate when the exquisiteness of the work deterred artists from attempting to render it complete, as was the case with the Venus of Apelles: *cujus inferiorem partem corruptam qui reficeret, non potuit reperiri*. We must not be

hand held a luxuriant garland of flowers, destined, it would seem, to encircle the temples of a most lovely head, the position of which in this spot had a particular significancy. Gallus had purchased a splendid specimen of art in a mutilated state, and had supplied the wanting head by that of his beautiful mistress. The likeness of Lycoris was well caught, and whatever might have been the conception of the original sculptor, the expression of the countenance, as it now stood, corresponded admirably with the blooming figure and proportions of the rest of the statue.

Gallus was occupied in giving some additional orders about the surrounding scene, when a slave announced that a courier from Pomponius had arrived, and desired to speak with him. He seemed to be in haste, it was added, for he had travelled in a light *cisium*<sup>2</sup>. Gallus commanded him to be introduced, and awaited his appearance

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astonished at finding, even at that period, a head after life set on an ideal statue; although it was not till somewhat later that the scandalous abuses of the works of Grecian art became prevalent; when, for instance, Caligula designed placing a head of himself upon the Olympic Zeus by Phidias, Suet. *Cal.* 22, 57; when Claudius caused the head of Alexander to be cut out of a picture by Apelles, and that of Augustus to be substituted for it, Plin. xxxv. 10, 36; and when Commodus set the head of himself upon a colossus 110 feet high, (not that of Rhodes, which has never been set up again, but that which Nero caused Zenodorus to erect as a portrait of himself, and which was changed under Vespasian or Hadrian into a god of the sun), Plin. xxxiv.

7, 18; Spart. *Hadr.* 19; Lamprid. *Commod.* 17; *Herodian*, i. 15. It does not matter here whether the Farnese statue really represents a Flora, on which point opinions differ, as there is no reason why this goddess might not at least have been represented in such a manner.

<sup>2</sup> Augustus had, it is true, established a kind of post communication between the provinces and Rome, but only for the business of the state. Suet. *Aug.* 49. There were couriers also. It is very natural that private persons in urgent cases should have dispatched *tabellarii* in vehicles, which were easily obtained in the towns along the great roads. See Appendix; art. *Lectica and Carriages*.

with some uneasiness, as he thought that something important must have happened to cause Pomponius to dispatch a special messenger, instead of availing himself of the constant communication that took place between the villa and his house in Rome.

The *tabellarius* having entered and delivered his letter, and the seal having been found correct, Gallus cut asunder the thread. The tablet contained only a few words. 'Cæsar is in the worst possible humour,' wrote Pomponius; 'severe decrees against you, and even banishment, are talked of. Hasten as quickly as possible to Rome, in order by your presence to prevent the impending blow, or, if too late for that, to take measures for rendering it ineffectual. Calpurnius is beside himself, and thinks of nothing but revenge. You can count on him and the rest of us;—but speed.'

The *tabellarius* had stealthily watched him whilst he was reading these lines, and seemed prepared for the deep impression which was visible in every feature of the astounded Gallus. 'What answer shall I take to my master?' said he to the other, who seemed struck dumb.

'Take him my thanks,' replied Gallus, collecting himself, 'and inform him that I shall soon be in Rome myself.'

The slave departed. 'Impossible!' cried Gallus, as he handed the letter to Chresimus, who had just approached. 'What guilt will they charge me with? Have we come to such a pass, that a tyrant's bad humour and irritability shall be sufficient ground for driving a free and deserving man into want and wretchedness? No, no! Pomponius, in his anxiety for his friend's fate, paints in too gloomy colours. Do you not think so, Chresimus?'

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The old domestic tremblingly returned the letter, and tears filled his eyes. 'The gods send this blow,' said he, with stifled accents; 'but there is no lack of wicked men, and of false friends, also,' added he significantly.

'Foolish suspicion!' replied Gallus. 'Are you like Lycoris, who not long since tried to criminate my friend? Can you not be convinced by this letter, which gives me timely warning, while so many, under far greater obligations to me, carelessly allow the precious moments to elapse without sending information of my danger?'

'That Pomponius should have gained earlier intelligence of it than my vigilant Leonidas, who knows a hundred ways of catching what people say of you, is exactly what astonishes me. Would he have been less speedy in giving you information?'

'Enough!' said Gallus, angrily. 'Prepare for departure. You must accompany me. Select the lightest *cisium* I have, and send off one of my Numidians in advance, to order every where the necessary relays of horses. Above all, take care that no one learns the cause of my journey.'

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Chresimus was right. No one but Pomponius, who had himself devised the secret treachery by which Gallus was to fall, could have obtained such early intelligence of the success of his schemes. Nevertheless, his plans had only half succeeded; for heavy as were the complaints brought against Gallus, and skilfully as his unguarded expressions had been made use of to prove him a traitor and participator in a conspiracy, yet Augustus had not

been able to prevail upon himself to annihilate one whom he formerly esteemed; and whilst Largus and Pomponius counted on his banishment, Augustus had confined himself to forbidding the accused to visit his palace, or stay in his provinces<sup>3</sup>. So far, his accusers had not gained much; but they hoped that in his exasperation he would be led on to further steps, which might form the basis of severer accusations. On this account his presence at Rome was desirable, and so Pomponius had tried to convince him of the necessity of returning thither, before the imperial edict was made known. On the very first report of it, Leonidas had dispatched a messenger to inform Gallus of the circumstance. This man met him on the road to Rome, and acquainted him with the position in which matters stood.

Though in some measure deriving comfort from the assurance that extreme measures, such as banishment, with its attendant ills of want and misery, were not to be feared, yet the humiliation of his position made the strongest impression on his mind. Banishment would have bowed him down deeply, but the disgrace of being forbidden the house of him to whose exaltation he had so mainly contributed, whose confidant in lighter as well as more important affairs he had always been, and the thought of being viewed by

<sup>3</sup> Suet. *Aug.* 76. Augustus often did this. Seneca (*de Ira*, iii. 23) relates of Timagenes, who had spoken against himself: *Sæpe illum Cæsar monuit, ut moderatius lingua uleretur: perseveranti domo sua interdixit.* Tiberius says, (*Tac. Ann.* iii. 12), *odero seponamque a domo mea, et privatas inimicitias non vi principis ulciscar*; also *ib.* vi. 29. Under Augustus the renouncement of friendship (*renunciare amicitiam*)

was not followed by the desertion of others. Although Gallus therefore was forbidden to reside in the provinces of Augustus, (*Suet.* 47; *Dio Cass.* liii. 12), there was nothing to prevent him from remaining in Rome and Italy. Claudius was the first to issue the decree: *ut hi, quibus a magistratibus provinciæ interdicerentur, urbe quoque et Italia submoverentur.* *Suet. Claud.* 23.

his arrogant rivals with scorn, as a fallen favourite, awoke his pride in all its intensity. The news made a different impression on Chresimus, who, sympathising heartily with his lord, yet hoped that Augustus would soon be convinced of the invalidity of the accusations, and that Gallus might, by the intercession of true friends, be restored to his former position.

By the evening of the second day they had reached Rome, where the domestics, who had been left there, informed by the Numidian courier of their master's return, were waiting for him. Gallus did not receive the imperial edict, as it had been sent to his villa, but there was no doubt about the fact of its having been issued, and some even professed to have already observed the effects of this declaration of Augustus. Gallus resolved to consult his friends on the following day as to the line of conduct best adapted to his difficult situation.

The morning of this day was far more quiet than was usual in the house of Gallus. The sunbeams were already gleaming into the sleeping-apartment, where Gallus lay awake, contemplating more calmly the possible consequences of his misfortune, when old Chresimus cautiously opened the door, lifted the curtain, and saluted his master, whom he had expected to find still asleep. 'You look ill, Chresimus,' said Gallus. 'Doubtless your anxiety for me has prevented you from sleeping; but be calm. After all, what does it matter whether the house of Augustus is open to me or not? I shall still continue to be what I now am; and if any one treats me haughtily, I shall, be assured, meet him with all befitting disdain.'

'I would agree with you, my lord,' replied Chresimus, 'if nothing more were at stake than retirement from

the splendour of imperial favour, into the obscurity of private life; but take care, lest the present misfortune prove the forerunner of sadder occurrences. Will not your moderation be interpreted into defiance? Will not your foes be stimulated, by the success they have gained, to new acts of treachery, and at last induce the venal senate to utter its verdict against you, whether guilty or not? Oh!' continued he more earnestly, as he perceived the effect his words had produced, 'hear the counsel of a faithful servant. Divest yourself of all the insignia of the distinction befitting your rank'. Throw carelessly around you the worst and oldest *toga* you can find, and publicly display the sorrow with which the interdict has filled you.'

'How!' retorted Gallus, 'humble myself, and go about in dirty garments, like a criminal, and beg for mercy!'

'It would only be for a short time,' said the servant. 'Apply to those who have most influence with Augustus. Let Virgil speak for you; and if you succeed in effecting a reconciliation with Augustus, and in restoring, though in appearance only, the former relations between you, you can laugh at your enemies, and in the retirement of private life escape from their intrigues!'

The warmth with which the faithful old man uttered these words, seemed to make a deep impression upon

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<sup>4</sup> In the same manner as in times of distress and mourning, whether for public or domestic calamities, the sufferers testified their affliction by sedulous neglect of their personal appearance; so they, over whom the danger of a heavy accusation was im-

pending, appeared in sorry apparel, with disordered hair, and divested of all insignia and ornaments, *sordidati*. Liv. vi. 20. The instance of Cicero is known Plut. 30, comp. 31; Dio Cass. xxxviii. 16; and Reim. on xxxvii. 33.

Gallus; he even appeared on the point of resolving to follow the judicious counsel, when a *cubicularius* announced that Pomponius had called, and desired to speak with him. Chresimus prepared, although very unwillingly, to withdraw. 'Oh! listen not to him, I conjure you,' were his words, as the slave disappeared to admit the visitor: 'follow not the advice that he will give you. Would that Lycoris were here! She appears to know some secret relating to him, and intended seeking an opportunity at the villa, of confiding it to you.'—Pomponius entered. At a sign from his master, Chresimus slowly retired; but it was easy to read in his countenance the curse that was hanging on his lips.

The secret conference had lasted more than an hour, when Pomponius at length quitted the chamber. Chresimus, on re-entering, discovered his master walking to and fro, in a strong state of excitement. 'I will go abroad, Chresimus,' said he. 'Send Eros with my clothes. Bid him select the whitest and broadest *toga*, and the *tunica* of the brightest purple. Not a word, old man! Your advice was well meant, but the present is not the time for demeaning myself. Send Eros to me.'

The slave came with the *tunica*, and followed by two others bearing the *toga*, already folded in the approved fashion, whilst a fourth placed the purple dress-shoes near the seat. Eros first girded the under-garment afresh, then threw over his master the upper *tunica*, taking particular care that the broad strip of purple woven into it<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup> See the Appendix; art. *The Dress of the Men*, for a description of the *clavis latus* and *angustus*. It may be doubted whether Gallus

possessed the *jus lati clavi*, since he was not entitled to it either by birth or office, and Augustus had made him præfect of Ægypt because he did



might fall exactly across the centre of the breast; for custom did not permit of this garment being girded. He then, with the assistance of another slave, hung one end of the *toga*, woven of the whitest and softest Milesian wool, over the left shoulder, so as to fall far below the knee, and cover with its folds, which gradually became more wide, the whole of the arm down to the hand. The right arm remained at liberty, as the voluminous garment was passed at its broadest part under the arm, and then brought forward in front; the *umbo*, already arranged in an ingenious fashion, being laid obliquely across the breast, so that the well-rounded *sinus* almost reached the knee, and the lower half ended at the middle of the shin-bone, whilst the remaining portion was once more thrown over the left shoulder, and hung down over the arm and back of the person in a mass of broad and regular folds. Eros was occupied for a long time before he could get each fold into its approved position, he then reached for his lord the polished hand-mirror, the thick silver plate of which reflected every image with perfect clearness<sup>6</sup>. Gallus cast but a single glance on it, allowed his feet to be installed into the tall shoes, latched with fourfold thongs, placed on

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not belong to the *ordo senatorius*. What Dio Cass. (lix. 9), says of Caligula, does not however give any decided intelligence of the earlier period, and it is perhaps therefore sufficient to call attention to the scruples militating against the assertion.

<sup>6</sup> The mirrors were generally of metal; in the earlier periods a composition of tin and copper was used,

but as luxury increased, those made of silver became more common. Plin. xxiii. 9. The silver, however, which was at first used pure, was often adulterated with a quantity of some other metal. The excellence of the mirror did not depend only upon the purity of the metal, but also on the strength of the plate, which caused the image to be reflected more strongly. Vitruv. vii. 3. 9.

his fingers the rings he had taken off overnight<sup>7</sup>, and ordered Chresimus to be summoned.

'You accompany me,' said he to Chresimus, who was just entering. 'I intend visiting some shops in the Forum<sup>8</sup>, to purchase some presents for Lycoris, in order to surprise her on her return; give instructions, therefore, for four of my most imposing looking slaves to follow me. No orders require to be given about my dinner, as I must keep my promise to Lentulus, who, with all his folly, is not one of those who trouble themselves as to whether Augustus be displeased with me or not. Here,' continued he, as he opened a closet<sup>9</sup>, took out two purses, and sealed it up again with the key-ring, 'let the slaves take this gold with them; I hope it will be enough; if not, we must see whether Alphius<sup>10</sup> will give credit to the fallen favourite.' Chresimus took the gold in silence, and departed.

Gallus had good reasons for selecting the *tabernæ* of the Forum as the direction of his morning's walk. Irri-

<sup>7</sup> Although they did not take off the signet ring at night, for fear of its being made unfair use of, yet this was not the case with those which were merely ornamental. Hence Mart. xi. 56, mentions it as something particular in Charisianus, *nec nocte ponit annulos*.

<sup>8</sup> In the most frequented streets and places of Rome, *tabernæ* were erected against the houses and public buildings; also against the Forum. Juv. vii. 132. After Agrippa had completed the Septa Julia, the most splendid magazines were to be found there. Mart. ix. 60, from which epi-

gram almost the whole of this description is taken.

<sup>9</sup> The *arca*, or *armarium*, wherein money was deposited, was, as in the case of the *cellæ* and other repositories, not only locked, but also, from this not being considered sufficient security, had a seal placed upon it. Plaut. *Epist.* ii. 3, 3. For this purpose there was mostly a signet attached to the key-ring, of which great numbers are still extant.

<sup>10</sup> Alphius, the name of the *fœnerator*, known from Hor. *Epod.* ii., who need not however, as is here intended, have been an *argentarius*.

tated by Pomponius, who had insinuated much about the displeasure of Augustus, and the ridicule of the distinguished circles, he fancied he could not better evince his indifference to the interdict, than by appearing in all the splendour of his order, at the very focus of life and bustle, and that too, for no weightier purpose than to purchase ornaments and trinkets for a *libertina*. He soon perceived, as he stalked along the streets, what a difference had been brought about by a single word from the Emperor. Many, who at former times pressed forward to meet him, passed along unconcernedly or shily, without noticing him. Proud patricians, who had no other merit to boast of, but the glory of their ancestors, whose images adorned the *atrium*, cast scornful looks upon him, whilst their slaves pointed at him with their fingers, and only now and then some worthy citizen or intimate friend approached, to express their sympathy by a hearty shake of the hand.

Without apparently observing these indications of baseness and paltry timidity, Gallus strode proudly through the streets, and careless of the crowds that beset the Forum, entered the shops where all the valuables that streamed into Rome from the most remote regions, lay stored up in rich profusion. These *tabernæ* never lacked a number of visitors; they were frequented not only by such as really intended to make purchases, but also by those who, full of repining at not possessing all the costly articles<sup>11</sup>, devoured them with greedy gaze, demanded to see every thing, made offers for some of the goods, and ordered others to be put aside, as if chosen; whilst

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<sup>11</sup> The sorrowful feelings which | ing these displays of finery, is beautifully described by Martial, x. 80.

others pointed out slight defects, or regretted that they did not quite suit their purpose, and, after all, went away without purchasing anything beyond mere trifles. In the *tabernæ* of the slave-merchants particularly, there were persons who, under the pretence of becoming purchasers, penetrated into the interior, where the most beautiful slaves were kept, in order that they might be out of sight of ordinary visitors<sup>12</sup>.

Passing these *tabernæ*, Gallus entered one where costly furniture was exposed for sale. Expensive cedar tables, carefully covered and supported by strong pillars, veneered with ivory; dinner couches of bronze, richly adorned with silver and gold, and inlaid with costly tortoise-shell; besides *trapezophoræ* of the most beautiful marble, with exquisitely worked griffins<sup>13</sup>, seats of cedar wood and ivory, *candelabra* and lamps of the most various forms, vases of all sorts, costly mirrors, and a hundred other objects, sufficient to furnish more than one house in magnificent style. Some one who hardly meant to be a purchaser, was just getting the covers

<sup>12</sup> The *tabernæ* of the slave-merchants were divided into compartments, and the most beautiful slaves were not seen by all. See Mart. ix. 60. The *primæ casæ* were the front parts, and the *tabulata arcana castæ*, the inner partitions, if indeed a higher story is not to be supposed, in conformity with the derivation of the word.

<sup>13</sup> The *trapezophoræ*, which are mentioned occasionally, and by Cicero, *ad Att.* vii. 23, (comp. Paull. *Dig.* xxxiii. 10, 3; Jung. *ad Poll.* x. 60), do not appear to have been so much

tables, as table-frames, chiefly of marble, upon which an *abacus* was placed according to taste. Some persons profess, and with some appearance of truth, to recognize them in the numerous bases, which are to be met with, and four of which are given in the *Mus. Borb.* iii. tab. 54, vii. tab. 28. On all of them are two griffins, turned from each other, and the intervening space is decked with flowers, tendrils, dolphins, and similar objects in relief. They are of Lunesian marble; the slabs which were upon them were probably of higher value.

removed from some of the cedar tables by the attendant, but he found they were not spotted to his taste. A *hexaclinon*<sup>14</sup> of tortoise-shell seemed, however, to attract him amazingly, but, after measuring it three or four times, he said with a sigh, 'That it was, alas! a few inches too small for the cedar table for which he had intended it.' Having caused several other objects to be reached down from their places against the wall, he at last departed without buying any thing. Gallus, in his turn, looked over the stock, but seeing nothing adapted for a present to Lycoris, left the shop, and went into another, where precious vessels of Corinthian brass, statues by Polyclethus and Lysippus, costly tripods with groups of figures in bronze<sup>15</sup>, and similar objects, were displayed. He thence proceeded to that of a merchant, who kept for sale the best selection of gorgeous trinkets. Beautiful vessels of gold and silver; goblets, of precious stones or genuine *murrha*<sup>16</sup>; ingenious manufactures in glass

<sup>14</sup> For the meaning of the word *hexaclinon*, see the Appendix; art. *The Triclinia*. Here again, Mart. ix. 60, is the ground-work of the description, as from it we become acquainted with the objects for sale in these *taberna*. Mamurra there goes about inspecting every thing, and finding something to blame in very thing, even in the statues of Polyclethus, then selects ten Myrrhine vases, cheapens other things, *pretium fecit*, and at last buys two miserable glasses for an *as*.

<sup>15</sup> Among the paintings from Pompeii in the *Mus. Borb.*, are two representing costly tripods, each adorned with seven statues; the one of the

sons, and the other the daughters of Niobe: in each, three figures stand or kneel at the feet of the tripod, the remaining four are in a kneeling posture on the rim which connects the feet. vi. t. 13, 14.

<sup>16</sup> There were genuine and false *murrhina*, the latter probably an imitation in glass, as Plin. xxxvi. 26, 67, in enumerating the different glasses manufactured, says, *fit et album et murrhinum*. By supposing that there were two different kinds of *murrhina*, it has been attempted to reconcile the apparent contradictions in the ancient authors. See Minutoli und Klaproth *über Antike Glasmosaik*.

and many-coloured carpets from Babylon and Alexandria; pearl ornaments for females, and all kinds of precious stones; rings set with magnificent cameos, engraved emeralds and beryls; and many other precious wares, were exhibited in such profusion that it was difficult to choose.

Gallus selected a pair of pearl ear-drops of great value, a neck ornament of the most beautiful *electrum*, a pair of pretty glass vessels, and one of the richest carpets; and then dispatched Chresimus to the *Vicus Tuscus*<sup>17</sup> to purchase one of the best silk robes. 'Send the slave with my bathing apparatus to the house of Fortunatus<sup>18</sup>,' said he; 'also my sandals, and a *synthesis*; I am now going to call upon a friend.' With these words he dismissed his domestic, who obeyed in silence, and took charge of the ornaments, while two of the slaves bore off the remainder of the purchases. The others followed their lord.

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<sup>17</sup> The silk dresses did not come to Europe in the web, but the raw silk had to be manufactured here. The chief passages on this point are Aristot. *H. A. V.* 17, (19); Plin. vi. 17, 20. The obscurity of the expression has induced many to believe that the robes already manufactured were taken to pieces and then put

together again. In Rome, at least in the time of Martial, (xi. 27, 11), the most celebrated weavers appear to have lived in the *Vicus Tuscus*.

<sup>18</sup> Fortunatus, the owner of a *balneum meritorium*, mentioned by Martial, ii. 14, 11.

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## SCENE THE NINTH.

### THE BANQUET<sup>1</sup>.

THE hour of the *cæna* had arrived, and by the activity of numberless slaves every thing was prepared in the house of Lentulus for a grand reception of guests. The

<sup>1</sup> Of all the matters, which, in pursuance of the plan of this work, should be touched upon, none appear of so critical a nature as the description of a Roman banquet, and yet it, above all others, ought to be admitted, considering the importance that was attached to every thing connected with it. The analysis of the habits of the Romans, so entirely different from our own in this respect, the explanation of numerous objects, which were important in their daily life, and are so frequently mentioned in the most popular authors, in short, the antiquarian research itself is attended with much interest; but, as the dramatic poet can introduce on the stage nothing more tedious than banquets, (of course such scenes as that in *Macbeth* are an exception,) so the description of them must always be tiresome, and the more so, when the only object is to pourtray the exterior customs of a class of persons. On the other hand, it would be more dangerous to attempt to describe the genuine *convivere*, the actual conviviality, the spirit which pervaded the conversation and jests of the banquet, instead of confining it to the material part of the matter. It might be more feasible in the Latin tongue, but in a modern language the truest copy of antique scenes, especially of common life, must always have something

modern about it, which will render it disagreeable to the taste of the literary antiquary.

There is, besides, such an abundance of apparatus, attendance, dishes, means of amusement, out of which only a selection can be made in the description of a single meal, and great caution is necessary not to under or over-do any thing, and to take exaggerations for habits, nor, on the other hand, to consider any thing, to us improbable, as satire or untruth. It is always safer, therefore, to take as our basis, in such matters, some antique description, even though it contain many eccentricities and absurdities, instead of usual matters. Of all such accounts, the detailed one by Petronius of the *cæna Trimalchionis* is best adapted for our present purpose, since the banquet of Nasidienus was ridiculed by Horace, because every thing there was unsuitable and perverted. Petronius describes an unusual *cæna* at the house of a man, whose equal in prodigality and folly could hardly be found, and therefore, although the satirist may have exaggerated much, we unquestionably learn best from him what the general habits were, and much that appears absurd and ostentatious in *Trimalchio*, is shewn, by passages in other authors, to have been nothing uncommon. Should

fires blazed brightly in the kitchens, where the cook, assisted by a number of underlings, was exhausting all his skill. Whenever the covers were removed from the vessels, a grateful odour, more inviting than the smoke of a fat burnt-offering, diffused itself around, and ascended on high to the habitation of the gods<sup>3</sup>. The *pistor*<sup>3</sup> and *structor*<sup>4</sup> were occupied in arranging the dessert, in all the forms that ingenuity could suggest, while the first course was ready for serving.

The *triclinium* had been placed in a spacious saloon, the northerly aspect of which was well adapted for the time of year. Around a beautiful table, covered with cedar-wood, stood elegant sofas, inlaid with tortoise-shell;

much be here retained that may be thought pure invention of Petronius, the author may submit, that, at a later period, still stranger things occurred, and therefore that they might have happened in the house of Lentulus. It would not be to the purpose to enter here into a detailed account of the various dishes, as not only those mentioned by Horace, Martial, Juvenal and Macrobius, but also those in the receipt-book of Apicius, must then be described. Much concerning the usual dishes is to be found in Heindorf's notes on Horace, and Wüstemann's *Pal. d. Scaur.*

<sup>2</sup> The cook whom Ballio had hired, speaks thus boastfully of his art. *Plaut. Pseud.* iii. 2, 51.

<sup>3</sup> *Pistor* was the name both of the slave who baked the bread for the usual household supply, and of him who made *dulcia*, cakes and pastry of all kinds: the latter was also called *dulciarius*, because the two functions

were not always discharged by the same person. Hence *Appul. Met.* x. says *pistor dulciarius qui panes et mellita concinnabat edulia*, where *panes* is not to be taken for common bread. See note 39, p. 139, and *Mart.* xiv. 222.

<sup>4</sup> The word *structor* has several significations, as he had several duties. The word denotes, in the first place, that he was the person who arranged the food, set the different dishes of separate *fercula*, in order upon the *repositoria*, and took care that the dishes were served in a pleasing and ingenious manner. See *Petron.* 35. In the next place, by *structor* is understood the *scissor*, he who carved the food, (see note 22,) and also the person who constructed artificial figures, of fruit and flesh, for the dessert, and this seems to be his office in the passage of *Lamprid.* mentioned in note 39. In most cases the latter was the duty of the cook, and the former of the *scissor*.



the lower part decked with white hangings embroidered with gold, and the pillows, which were stuffed with the softest wool, covered with gorgeous purple. Upon the seats, cushions<sup>5</sup>, covered with silken stuff, were laid to separate the places of the guests. The *tricliniarch* was still arranging the side-tables<sup>6</sup>, on which valuable drinking-vessels were displayed, and in straightening the draperies of the *triclinium*, when his lord entered, accompanied by the guests.

Lentulus had invited only six friends, but Pomponius, anxious that the number of the Muses<sup>7</sup> should occupy the *triclinium*, and no place be left empty, brought with him two friends, whom he introduced as gentlemen from Perusia<sup>8</sup>. 'It is long, methinks,' said Gallus to his courteous host, on entering, 'since we last met in this saloon; how beautifully you have in the meantime ornamented it. You certainly could not have chosen a more

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<sup>5</sup> The silken cushions, *pulvini*, on which they supported themselves on the left elbow, were, perhaps, not introduced so early as the time of Gallus, but they are mentioned by Mart. iii. 82, 7.

<sup>6</sup> As the *abaci* and *Delphici* have already (note 11, page 23,) been spoken of as side-boards, it need only here be mentioned, that besides the necessary utensils, many things were displayed on them merely for shew, the proper expression for which is *exponere*. Petr. 21, 22. Comp. ibid. 73.

<sup>7</sup> Varro in Gellius xiii. 11.

<sup>8</sup> We learn from Horace and Plu-

tarch the custom by which invited guests frequently took uninvited persons, called *umbrae*, with them. Heind. on Hor. Sat. ii. 8, 22. This, however, generally took place only when the host had left it to his guests' option to do so, as in Hor. Ep. i. 5, 30. Salmasius thought that the lowest places on the *lectus imus* were allotted to them, but this will not apply to all cases: the passage he quotes, Juv. v. 17, is not to the purpose, as an uninvited client is there alluded to. In Horace the two *umbrae* introduced by Mæcenas lay upon the *lectus medius*, probably out of regard to him: it generally depended upon what sort of people the *umbrae* were, and by whom introduced.

appropriate picture for a *triclinium* than those satyrs, celebrating the joyous vintage; and the slain boar, a scene from Lucania, the fruit and provision pieces over the doors, and between them the elegant twigs on which thrushes are sitting,—all are calculated to awaken a relish for the banquet.’

‘Yes, really,’ interposed Pomponius, ‘Lentulus understands how to decorate a dining-hall far better than Calpurnius. The other day he had the walls of his finest *triclinium* painted with the murder of Hipparchus, and the death of Brutus; and instead of agreeable foliage, threatening lictors were to be seen at every corner.’

‘He, too, is right in his way,’ said Gallus; ‘but where is he? I understood that you had invited him, Lentulus?’

‘He was unfortunately pre-engaged, replied the other.’ — ‘But we shall see him before the evening be over,’ added Pomponius. ‘As our friend Fannius is, you know, averse to sitting late, and Lentulus will not, I am sure, let us go before the crowing of the cock, we shall be one short at the *triclinium*, unless Calpurnius come according to his promise, and fill the vacant place, so soon as he can get released from his formal consular supper. But I scarcely think we ought to keep the cook waiting any longer. The tenth hour is, I verily believe, almost elapsed. Had we not better take our seats, Lentulus?’

The host answered in the affirmative, and conducted<sup>9</sup> Gallus to the lowest place on the middle sofa, which was

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<sup>9</sup> There does not appear to have been any general rule with regard to the distribution of the places: in most cases the host left it to each guest to choose his own, but in others he

assigned them. Plutarch, who discusses the matter in a special chapter, (*Sympos.* i. 2), decides, that it ought to be left entirely free to intimate friends and young people to

the seat of honour at the table. At his left, and on the same *lectus*, sat Pomponius; above him, Fannius. The sofa to the left was occupied by Bassus, Faustinus and Cæcilianus. To the right, and next Gallus, sat Lentulus himself; below him, the Perusians whom Pomponius had brought.

As soon as they had reclined, slaves<sup>10</sup> took off their sandals, and youths, with their loins girded, offered water in silver bowls for their ablutions. At a nod from Lentulus, two slaves entered, and placed upon the table the tray on which were the dishes composing the first course. Lentulus cast his eyes with secret joy around the circle, as if desirous of noting the impression made on his friends by the novel arrangements of this *gustatorium*, the invention of which was due to himself; and, indeed, the service was worthy of a nearer observation.

In the centre of the *plateau*, ornamented with tortoise-shell, stood an ass of bronze<sup>11</sup>, on either side of which hung silver panniers, filled with white and black olives, preserved by the art of the cook until this period of the year; on the back of the beast sat a Silenus, from whose skin the most delicious *garum*<sup>12</sup>

choose their own, but not so with strangers and persons deserving particular attention.

<sup>10</sup> It has been avoided saying positively whether the guests' own slaves, or the domestic slaves of the host, did this. In Petron. 31, the slaves of Trimalchio certainly perform similar services for his guests. The custom of each guest having his own slave, whom he had brought with him, standing behind him, is corroborated by examples. Petron.

58 and 68, by which Habinnas appears to have brought several slaves with him. Mart. ii. 37, and *Anthol. Pal.* xi. 207.

<sup>11</sup> Petron. 32. Olives belonged both to the *gustus* and to the *mense secunde*. Mart. xiii. 36. Concerning the *albæ* and *nigræ* and their *conditura*, see Colum. xii. 48; about other sorts, see Billerb. *Flor. Class.* 6.

<sup>12</sup> The *garum* was a sauce made from the entrails and blood of certain

flowed upon the *sumen*<sup>13</sup> beneath. Near this, on two silver gridirons lay delicately-dressed sausages<sup>14</sup>, beneath which Syrian plums, mixed with the seed of the pomegranate, presented the appearance of glowing coals. Around stood silver dishes containing asparagus, *lactuca*, radishes, and other productions of the garden, in addition to *lacerta*, flavoured both with mint and rue, and with Byzantine *muria*, and dressed snails and oysters<sup>15</sup>, whilst fresh ones in abundance were handed round. The company expressed their admiration of their host's fanciful invention, and then proceeded to help themselves to what each, according to his taste, considered the best incentive of an appetite. At the same time slaves carried round in golden goblets the *mulsum*, composed of Hymettian honey and Falernian wines.

They were still occupied in tasting the several delicacies, when a second and smaller tray was brought in, and placed in a vacant spot within the first, to which it did

sea-fish, and probably was to the ancients what *caviare* is to us. See Heind. on Hor. *Sat.* ii. 8, 46. There were good and bad qualities of it, and hence we find it at one time, called a delicious expensive food, at another, worthless and common. The Silenus, from whose skin it is here made to drop, is not to be found in the passage of Petronius, although in c. 36, he has something similar. The *garum* was used in various ways, both in the kitchen and at the table, and oysters even were smeared with it. Mart. xiii. 82.

<sup>13</sup> Amongst the most favourite dishes of the ancients, were the womb, *vulva*, and the breast, *sumen*, before

it had been sucked, of a *porca*: hence there is no dish so frequently mentioned, from Plautus down to the latest period.

<sup>14</sup> Petr. 31.

<sup>15</sup> In Macrob. ii. 9, an express distinction is made between *ostreae crudeæ*, which were handed to the guests, *quantum vellent*, and *patina ostrearum*, which was a warm dish prepared from oysters, for *patina* does not signify the dish only in which the meats were served, but a covered bowl, in which they were cooked, (Plautus, *ubi omnes patina fervent, omnes aperio*), as well as placed upon the table.

not yield in point of singularity. In an elegant basket sat a hen, ingeniously carved out of wood, with outspread wings, as if she were brooding<sup>16</sup>. Straightway entered two slaves, who began searching in the chaff which filled the basket, and taking out some eggs, distributed them amongst the guests. 'Friends,' said Lentulus, smiling, 'they are pea-hen's eggs, which have been put under the hen; my only fear is that she may have sat too long upon them; but let us try them.' A slave then gave to each guest a silver *cochleare*, which was, however, found almost too large and heavy for the purpose, and each proceeded to break an egg with the point of it. Most of the party were already acquainted with the jokes of Lentulus, but not so the Perusians. 'Truly, my egg has already become a hen!' cried one of them in disgust, and about to throw it away. 'Examine a little more closely,' said Pomponius, with a laugh, in which the guests at the upper sofa, who were better acquainted with the matter, joined; 'our friend's cook understands well how to dress eggs that have been already sat upon.' The Perusian then for the first time remarked that its shell was not natural, but made of dough, and that a fat fig-pecker was hidden in the yolk, which was strongly seasoned with pepper. Many jokes were made, and whilst the guests were eating the mysterious eggs, the slaves again presented the honey-wine. When no one desired more, the band, which was at the other end of the hall, began to play, as a sign for

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<sup>16</sup> See Petron. 33, whence this *gallina* is borrowed. The first *repositorium* was not removed, and the *gallina* must either have been placed upon it, or there must have been

room enough left for it on the table. There were, however, also *repositoria* of several *tabulata*, and one might consequently have been set on the top of the other.

the slaves to remove the *gustatorium*<sup>17</sup>, which they proceeded to do.

Another slave wiped the table with a purple cloth of coarse linen, and two Ethiopians again handed water for washing the hands<sup>18</sup>. Boys, wearing green garlands, then brought in two well-gypsumed *amphoræ*, the time-corroded necks of which well accorded with the inscription on a label hanging round them, whereon might be read, written in ancient characters, the words *L. Opimio Cos.*<sup>19</sup> 'Discharge your office well, Earinos,' cried Lentulus to one of the boys. 'To-day you shall bear the *cyathus*. It is Falernian, my friends, and Opimianum, too; and is, as you know, usually clouded.' 'It was bright enough,' said Gallus, 'when the free citizen wrote the name of the consul on this label. Yet it only shares the fate of the age, which, like it, has also become clouded.' The Perusians began to listen attentively, and Pomponius cautiously placed his finger on his mouth. 'Actually,' continued he, 'only five years more, and this noble juice would have witnessed a century pass away, and during this century there has never been a growth like it. Why, Maximus, your great-grandfather, was consul in the same year as Opimius; and see, here is the fourth generation already, and yet the wine is still in existence.'

<sup>17</sup> Petron. 34.

<sup>18</sup> It is not certain whether this took place after each *ferculum*, but Petronius describes it after the *promulsio*. No further mention is made of the usage between the courses, but it may easily be imagined that they washed frequently during the meal, as they used no forks.

<sup>19</sup> The *lagenæ* and *amphoræ* were generally of clay thinly pitched. Later, they were made of glass, (Petron. 34), upon which only perhaps the labels were hung, as the name was written on the earthen vessels themselves, and became frequently obliterated by age, which was a recommendation. Mart. xiii. 120.

‘Quite right,’ replied Maximus; ‘my ancestor was consul with Opimius; and much as I like the wine, I am yet vexed to think that my name does not appear on the *amphora*.’

‘Content yourself,’ quoth Gallus, ‘there are more serious accidents in life than that.’ ‘Oh!’ quickly interposed Pomponius, ‘let us end this grave conversation. Only see how Bassus and Cæcilianus are longing for the contents of the *amphoræ*, whilst we are indulging in speculations about the label outside. Have them opened, Lentulus.’

The vessels were carefully cleansed of the gypsum, and the corks extricated. Earinos cautiously poured the wine into the silver *colum*, which was placed ready, and was now filled again with fresh snow, and then mixed it, according to his master’s directions, in the richly-embossed *crater*, and dipping a golden *cyathus* therein, filled the amethyst-coloured glasses, which were distributed amongst the guests by the rest of the boys.

This operation was scarcely finished, before a new *repositorium* was placed upon the table, containing the first course of the *cæna*, which, however, by no means answered the expectations of the guests. A circle of small dishes, covered with such meats as were to be met with only at the tables of plebeians, was ranged around a slip of natural turf, on which lay a honey-comb. A slave carried round the bread in a silver basket<sup>20</sup>, and the guests were preparing, although with evident vexation, to help themselves to chick-peas and small fish, when at a sign from Lentulus,

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<sup>20</sup> Petr. 35. The *clibanus* is also probably one of the absurdities of the house of Trimalchio.

two slaves hurried forward, and took off the upper part of the tray, under which a number of dishes, presenting a rich selection of dainties, were concealed. There were ring-doves and field-fares, capons and ducks, mullets of three pounds weight<sup>21</sup>, and turbot, and, in the centre, a fatted hare, which, by means of artificial wings, the *structor* had ingeniously changed into a Pegasus<sup>22</sup>. The company on the *lectus summus* was agreeably surprised, and applauded the host with clapping of hands, and the *scissor*<sup>23</sup> immediately approached, and, with great solemnity and almost in musical time, began to carve. Earinos, meanwhile, was diligently discharging his functions; and the guests, animated by the strength of the Falernian, already began to be more merry. On the disappearance of the first course, much conversation was kept up, Gallus alone taking less share in it than he was accustomed to do.

But no long interval was allowed for talking. Four slaves soon entered to the sound of horns, bearing the second course, which consisted of a huge boar, surrounded by eight sucking-pigs, made of sweet paste, by the experienced baker, and surprisingly like real ones<sup>24</sup>.

<sup>21</sup> The *mullus* was one of the most favourite and expensive fishes, and increased in value according to its size, and to an almost incredible amount, one of six pounds having been sold for eight thousand *sestercies*. See Heind. on Hor. *Sat.* ii. 2, 33. The smaller ones were not much esteemed. Mart. xiv. 97. The *rhombus* has been already spoken of, note 33, p. 34.

<sup>22</sup> Petr. 36. Concerning the fattening of the hare, see Macrobian *Sat.* ii. 9.

<sup>23</sup> The *scissor*, also called *carp-tor* and *structor*, was the slave who carved the dishes. His art consisted not only in carving in a skilful manner, but also in dancing, and keeping regular time in his movements. See Rupert. on Juv. v. 120.

<sup>24</sup> In Petron. 40, these *porcelli*, which were distributed amongst the guests to be taken away by them, (*apophoreta*), are *copta*, or *coptoplacenta*, a kind of pastry, not unlike the rye-bread of Westphalia: it was very hard, and was often sent



On the tusks of the boar hung little baskets, woven of palm-twigs, and containing Syrian and Theban dates<sup>25</sup>. Another *scissor*, resembling a *jäger* in full costume<sup>26</sup>, now approached the table, and with an immense knife commenced cutting up the boar, pronounced by Lentulus to be a genuine Umbrian<sup>27</sup>. In the meantime, the boys handed the dates, and gave to each guest one of the pigs as *apophoreta*.

‘An Umbrian,’ said one of the guests of the *lectus summus*, turning to the strangers, ‘a countryman, or, at all events, a near neighbour, of your’s, then. If I were in your place, I should hesitate before partaking of it; for who knows whether, by some metamorphosis, one of your dear friends may not have been changed into this animal.’

‘The days for metamorphoses are past,’ replied one of them. ‘There are no more Circes, and the other gods do not trouble themselves much about mankind. I know only one, who potently rules all the world, and can doubtless bring about many metamorphoses.’

‘Do not say so,’ Pomponius quickly added; ‘our friend Bassus will teach you directly that many wonders happen even in the present times, and that we are by no means

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away to a distance. Hence Martial’s joke, xiii. 68.

<sup>25</sup> Syrian dates, *caryota*, and Egyptian, *Thebaica*. Salmasius treats of them at length, *Exerc. ad Sol.* ii. 927. The dates in Petron. are said to be an allusion to the sustenance of the boar, *glandes*.

<sup>26</sup> Petr. 40.

<sup>27</sup> The boar was generally the chief dish of a grand *cæna*, and came

whole to table. The practised gourmand pretended to distinguish by the taste, from what part of Italy it came. Hor. *Sat.* ii. 4, 40, says, *Umbæ curret aper lances; nam Laurens malus est*: at other times the Lucanian, and later the Tuscan were celebrated. See Hor. *Sat.* ii. 3, 234; 8, 6; Stat. *Silv.* iv. 6, 10; Mart. vii. 27. The cooking of the boar also cost a considerable sum, says Martial, who had received a present of a *Tusca glandis aper*.

sure that we shall not see one amongst us suddenly assume the character of a beast.'

'Laugh as you will,' said Bassus, 'it still cannot be denied. Only the other day, one who was formerly a slave to a man in humble circumstances at Capua, but has now become a rich freedman, related to me a circumstance which he had himself experienced; it is enough to make one's hair stand on end. If not displeasing to you, I will communicate it<sup>28</sup>.' The company, partly from curiosity, and partly wishing for a laugh against Bassus, begged him to tell the story, and he thus began:—

"When I was a slave," related my informant, "I happened, by the dispensation of the gods, to conceive a liking for an innkeeper's wife; not from an unworthy passion, but because she never denied me what I asked for, and anything I saved and gave into her charge, I was sure not to be cheated of. Her husband had a small villa at the fifth milestone, and, as it chanced, fell sick there and died. In misfortune, thought I, we know our friends, and therefore considered how I could get to my friend at the villa. My master was by accident absent from Capua, but a stranger, a warrior, was stopping in our house;

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<sup>28</sup> The thousand-fold superstitions that reigned over the minds of the ancients, are shewn by the belief in omens, soothsayers, ghosts, and the effects of sympathetic means, diffused amongst all classes, so that Horace, *Epist.* ii. 2, 208, in naming the follies from which a man must become emancipated, asks—

Somnia, terrores magicos, miracula, sagas,  
Nocturnos lemures portentaque Thessala  
rides?

There appear to have been fewer fabulous histories, such as our fairy

tales, because they were generally included in the mythology, and thus rose to a higher significance. The tales here taken from Petronius, are interesting proofs that the ancients were in the habit of telling anecdotes, which may well compete with our renowned fairy tales. Many such wondrous occurrences might be quoted from Appuleius, but in Petronius they appear as objects of superstition, although only amongst the lower classes, but this is not the case with the Milesian tales.

of him I made a confidant, begging that he would accompany me in the night to the villa, and he consented to do so. We waited for the time of the cock-crowing<sup>39</sup>, and then stole off; the moon was shining, and it was as clear as midday. About half way, by the side of the road, was a group of sepulchral monuments, at which my companion stopped on some pretence or other; but I went on, beginning a song and gazing at the stars. At length I looked round, and saw my companion standing in the road. He took off his clothes and laid them down; then went round them in a circle, spat three times upon them, and immediately became a wolf." 'Now do not suppose that I am telling you a falsehood; for the fellow assured me that it was pure truth.' "He next," continued the man, "began to howl, and then dashed into the thicket. At first I did not know what to do, but at length approached for the purpose of taking the clothes with me, but behold! they had become stone. Horror-stricken, I drew my sword, and continued slashing it about in the air until I reached the villa. I entered the house breathless, the sweat dropped from me, and it was long before I recovered myself. My friend was astonished at my visiting her at such an unusual

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<sup>39</sup> After the Romans became acquainted with the use of sun-dials, the natural day was divided into twelve equal hours. Not so the night, in which the position of the stars and the increasing or decreasing darkness were the only means of distinguishing single portions of time: hence there was no division of it into hours at first. Afterwards the use of water-clocks became more general, but even then the former custom derived from the camp, by which the night was

divided into four watches, still remained much in use. In civil life it became more subdivided: eight divisions were adopted, named by Macrobius, *Sat. i. 3*, and found essentially the same in Censorinus, *de die nat. 24*. According to the former they were called, beginning with sunset, *vespera* (*crepusculum*), *prima fax* (*luminibus acensis*), *concupia* (*nox*), *intempesta* (*nox*): and from midnight to sunrise, *media noctis inclinatio*, *gallicinium*, *conticinium*, *diluculum*.

hour. 'Had you only come sooner,' said she, 'you might have assisted us; for a wolf has been breaking into the villa and destroying several sheep; but he did not escape with impunity; for my slave has pierced him through with a spear.' I shuddered, and could not obtain any sleep during the night. As soon as it was day I hastened homewards, and saw, on reaching the place where the clothes had lain, nothing more than a large stain of blood; but found the warrior lying in bed at home, and a surgeon bandaging his neck. I then became aware that he was one of those whom we call *versipelles*<sup>30</sup>, and could never afterwards eat bread in his company." This was the man's story, in recounting which he even then shuddered. Say what you will, such things often happen.'

The company laughed at and jeered the narrator, who endeavoured by philosophical arguments to defend his credulity. At length the second Perusian, who sat in the lowest place, said, 'Bassus may not be so very wrong, after all; for some time since I bought a slave who had formerly lived at Miletus, and who told me a wonderful story, in the following words. "In the house where I served, a child, a boy—beautiful as a statue—had died. His mother was inconsolable, and all were standing mourning round the bed, when the *strigæ* were heard shrieking round the house. There was in the family a Cappadocian, a tall, daring fellow, who had once overcome a mad ox. This man having seized a sword, ran out of doors, with

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<sup>30</sup> The name *versipellis* was considered as a term of abuse, and is so used by Petron. 62. Pliny also styles it the peculiar designation of such persons. viii. 22. There was, accord-

ing to Euanthes, an Arcadian legend, that each member of a certain family was changed into a wolf for nine years, and after that period again resumed his natural shape.

his left hand cautiously concealed in his mantle, and cut one of the hags in two. We heard their shrieks, although we saw nothing; but the Cappadocian staggered backwards upon a couch, and his whole body became as blue as if he had been beaten: for he had been touched by the hands of the witches. He closed the house-door again, but when the mother returned to her dead child, she saw with horror, that the *strigæ* had already taken away the body, and left a straw doll in its place.”

This anecdote was received with no less laughter than the other. Bassus alone bent unobserved towards the table, and inwardly besought the *strigæ* not to meet him on his way home<sup>21</sup>.

Some more stories of a similar kind would perhaps have been introduced, had not the slaves produced a fresh *ferculum*, which to the astonishment of the company contained a vast swine, cooked exactly like the boar. ‘Ha!’ cried Lentulus, rising from his couch, in order to inspect it more closely, ‘I really believe that the cook has forgotten to disembowel the animal. Bring him hither directly.’ The cook appeared with troubled mien, and confessed, to the indignation of the whole party, that in his hurry he had forgotten to cleanse the beast. ‘Now, really,’ said the enraged Cæcilianus, ‘that is the most worthless slave I ever beheld. Who ever heard of a cook omitting to gut a swine? Were he mine, I would hang him.’ Lentulus, however, was more leniently disposed. ‘You deserve a severe chastisement,’ said he to the slave,

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<sup>21</sup> Petron. 64. The table here supplied the place of the altar, as in Ovid. *Amor.* i. 4, 27. A similar superstitious usage was that of touch-

ing the ground with the hand at mention of the *inferi*. Plaut. *Most.* ii. 2, 37.

'and may thank my good humour for escaping it. But, as a punishment, you must immediately perform the neglected duty in our presence.' The cook seized the knife, and having carefully slit open the belly on both sides, gave a sudden jerk, when, to the agreeable surprise of the guests, a quantity of little sausages of all kinds tumbled out<sup>33</sup>.

'That is indeed a new joke,' cried Pomponius, laughing; 'but tell me, why did you have a tame swine served up after the wild boar?'

'If the remainder of my friends be of that opinion,' replied the host, 'we will grant him his liberty, and he may appear to-morrow at my table with his cap on<sup>34</sup>.'

On a given signal, the slaves removed the dish, and brought another containing peacocks, pheasants, the livers of geese<sup>35</sup>, and rare fish. At length this course also was removed, the slaves wiped the table, and cleared away with besoms of palm-twigs<sup>36</sup> the fragments that had fallen on the floor, strewing it at the same time with saw-dust, dyed with *minium* and pleasant-smelling saffron<sup>36</sup>.

<sup>33</sup> The whole of this joke is to be found in Petron. 48, who, however, relates a far more extraordinary piece of legerdemain, performed by the cooks on the boar, 40. Such absurdities might be taken as inventions of the author, had we not sober witnesses who relate the same things at a much earlier period. Macrob. *Sat.* ii. 9. So also geese were filled with smaller birds.

<sup>38</sup> At Trimalchio's table, the boar came *pileatus*, as a freedman, because it had appeared on the table on the preceding day, but had not been cut, *a convivis dimissus*.

<sup>34</sup> *Jecur anseris* was a very favourite dish, and to make its taste finer, the geese were fed with figs and dates. See Rader on Mart. xiii. 56.

<sup>35</sup> Luxury extended even to the besoms, which were made of palm-twigs. Mart. xiv. 82; Hor. *Sat.* ii. 4, 83.

<sup>36</sup> It still remains a question whether common saw-dust used for cleaning, is meant by Horace, as there was scarcely any *sumtus* in that: it was customary to strew the floor with dyed or sweet-smelling saw-dust, or something similar. Petron.

Whilst this was being done, the eyes of the guests were suddenly attracted upwards by a noise over-head; the ceiling opened, and a large silver hoop, on which were ointment-bottles of silver and alabaster, silver garlands with beautifully chiselled leaves and circlets, and other trifles, to be shared amongst the guests as *apophoreta*<sup>87</sup>, descended upon the table. In the meantime, the dessert had been served, wherein the new baker, whom Lentulus had purchased for a hundred thousand sesterces, gave a specimen of his skill. In addition to innumerable articles of pastry, there were artificial muscles, field-fares filled with dried grapes and almonds<sup>88</sup>, and many other things of the same kind. In the middle stood a well-modelled Vertumnus<sup>89</sup>, who held in his apron a great

68. The absurd Elagabalus carried his prodigality still further. Lamprid. 31.

<sup>87</sup> So Petronius relates, 60.

<sup>88</sup> See Petron. 69. It does not seem warrantable to assume the presence of a special *fartor* in a family for the purpose of preparing such things: the *fartor* appears to have been no more than the *σικευτής*, who fattened the poultry. In Hor. *Sat.* ii. 3, 229, there is no ground for supposing a *botularius* to be meant, as the *fartores* were not confined to the villas in the country, but many followed the occupation in Rome. When Donat. on Ter. *Eun.* ii. 2, 25, explains the word, *qui farcimina faciunt*, it might bear that signification, but the poulterer would be much more befitting in the company mentioned, and even in Plaut. *Truc.* i. 2. 11, it is not necessary to suppose it to mean *ἀλλαντοπωλῆς*.

<sup>89</sup> See Petron. 60. Such plastic displays of pastry were not perhaps confined to Trimalchio's house. Mart. xiv. 69. Athenæus, xiv. details the numerous names of such pastry. Hase merely gives a few general remarks on the subject. The making of these *opera pistoria* was the business both of the *dulciarius* and the *lactarius*; the former purveyed only the *dulcia mellita*, the latter the regular pastry, in which meal and milk were the chief ingredients. Lamprid. *Heliog.* 27. The *lactarius* copied figures as well as the *dulciarius*, and the *Priapi siliginei* were of his making, *ibid.* 32; Mart. xiii. 47. In most cases the same person discharged both offices, and the name *pistor* was the general term.

The *structor* was not simply he who dressed or carved the dishes, but one who formed various figures out of eatables; as, for instance, the *cydonia mala spinis confixa, ut echinos efficerent*, and again, the *omnium genera avium, pisces, anser altitils*,

variety of fruits. Around lay sweet quinces, stuck full of almonds, and having the appearance of sea-urchins, with melons cut into various shapes. Whilst the party was praising the fancy of the baker, a slave handed round tooth-picks<sup>40</sup>, made of the leaves of the mastich-pistachio, and Lentulus invited the guests to assist themselves to the confectionary and fruits with which the god was loaded.

The Perusians, who were particularly astonished by the gifts of Vertumnus at such a season, stretched across the table<sup>41</sup> and seized the inviting apples and grapes, but drew back in affright when, as they touched them, a stream of saffron discharged from the fruit, besprinkled them<sup>42</sup>. The merriment became general, when several of the guests attempted cautiously to help themselves to the mysterious fruit, and each time a red stream shot forth.

‘You seem determined,’ exclaimed Pomponius, ‘to surprise us in every way; but yet I must say, Lentulus, that in this, otherwise excellent, entertainment, you have not sufficiently provided for our amusement. Here we are at dessert, without having had a single spectacle to delight our eyes between the courses.’ ‘It is not my fault,’ replied Lentulus; ‘for our friend Gallus has deprecated all the feats of rope-dancing and pantomime that I intended for you, and you see how little he shares in the conversation. Besides, the sun is already nigh setting, and I have had another *triclinium* lighted up for us<sup>43</sup>. If no one

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(Petron. 69), which were all made *de uno corpore, de porco*. See Mart. xi. 31.

<sup>40</sup> The stems of the leaves of the mastich-pistachio, *lentiscus*, (*Pistacia lentiscus*; Lin.), made the best

tooth-picks, *denti-scalpia*, for which quills were also used. Mart. xiv. 22, iii. 82, 9, vi. 74, vii. 53.

<sup>41</sup> Plaut. *Mil.* iii. 1, 167.

<sup>42</sup> Petron. 60.

<sup>43</sup> Petron. 73.



will take more of the dessert, we may as well, I think, repair thither at once. Perhaps the cloud which shades the countenance of our friend may disappear under the garland. Leave the Falernian alone at present, Earinos, and await us in the other saloon.' The youth did as his lord commanded, and just at that moment Calpurnius entered, pouting discontentedly at the servile souls of the company he had left, because he could no longer endure their 'Hail to the father of our fatherland.'

The party now rose, to meet again after a short time in the brilliant saloon, the intervening moments being spent by some in sauntering along the colonnades, and by others in taking a bath.

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## SCENE THE TENTH.

### THE DRINKERS.

THE lamps had been long shining on the marble panels of the walls in the *triclinium*, where Earinos, with assistants, was making preparations, under the direction of the tricliniarch, for the nocturnal *comissatio*<sup>1</sup>. Upon the polished table between the tapestried couches stood an elegant bronze *candelabrum*, in the form of a stem of a tree, from the winterly and almost leafless branches of which four two-flamed lamps, emulating each other in beauty of shape, were suspended. Other lamps hung by chains from the ceiling, which was richly gilt and ingeniously inlaid with ivory, in order to expel the darkness of night from all parts of the saloon. A number of costly goblets and larger vessels were arranged on two silver sideboards, and on one of them a slave was just placing another vessel filled with snow, together with its *colum*, and on the other was the steaming *caldarium*, containing water kept constantly boiling by the coals in its inner cylinder, in case any of the guests should prefer the

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<sup>1</sup> The *comissatio* was a *convivium* also, and the Greek *συμπόσιον* answers better to it, but it must not be confounded with the *cæna*. The name (derived from *κῶμος*, *κωμᾶζειν*) denotes a carousal, such as frequently occurred after the repast. In Livy, xl. 7, Demetrius inquires of his guests after a *cæna* at his own house: *Quin commissatum ad fratrem imus?* And hence it is said of Habinnas, who after the *cæna* at another house went

to Trimalchio's. Petron. 65; *comissator intravit*, Suet. Dom. 21. These *comissiones* began late, and were frequently kept up till far into the night, and attended with much noise and riot. Martial alludes to this, when addressing his book, x. 19, 18, and 3, 68. They were not in good odour, and the name was connected with the idea of all sorts of debauchery.

*calda*<sup>a</sup>, the drink of winter, to the snow-drink, for which he might think the season was not sufficiently advanced.

By degrees the guests assembled from the bath and the *peristylum*, and took their places in the same order as before on the *triclinium*. Gallus and Calpurnius were still wanting. They had been seen walking to and fro along the *cryptoporticus* in earnest discourse. At length they arrived, and the gloom seemed dissipated from the brow of Gallus; his eyes sparkled more brightly, and his whole being seemed to have become more animated.

‘I hope, my friends, you have not waited for us,’ said he to Pomponius and Cæcilianus, who reproached him for his long absence. ‘How could we do otherwise,’ responded Pomponius, ‘as it is necessary first to choose the king’ who shall reign supreme over the mixing bowl and *cyathus*? Quick, Lentulus, let us have the dice directly, or the snow will be turned to *calda* before we are able to drink it.’ On a signal from Lentulus, a slave placed upon the table the dice-board, of Terebinthus-wood, the

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<sup>a</sup> Popular as the *calda* was in winter and cooler weather generally, yet wine mixed with cold water was naturally preferred in the summer; but we must not suppose the use of the *calda* restricted to the cold time of year. Mart. viii. 67, says: *caldam pocis aquam; sed nondum frigida venit*; but this alludes to the feast of the Floralia, at which Cæcilianus visited him so early. The rule of Athenæus (ii. 45) only partially applies, as he was talking of a drink of water merely, to be taken just after the bath.

Greeks and Romans of choosing a *symposiarch*, *magister*, or *rex convivii*, *arbitrator bibendi*, who prescribed the laws of the drinking, is well known. See Christ, *de magis. Vett. in poculis*; Wüstemann’s *Palast des Scaurus*, 275; Heindorf on Hor. *Sat.* ii. 2, 123. He fixed not only the proportions of the mixing, but also the number of *cyathi* each person was to drink. Hence the *leges insane*, Hor. *Sat.* ii. 6, 69; Cic. *Verr.* v. 11. He was generally elected by the throw of the dice, *tali*, and of course the Venus decided it. Hor. *Od.* ii. 7, 25. *Quem Venus arbitrum dicet bibendi?*

<sup>a</sup> The custom, common to both

four dice made from the knuckles of gazelles<sup>4</sup>, and the ivory turret-shaped dice-box. 'But first bring chaplets and the *nardum*<sup>5</sup>,' cried the host; 'roses or ivy, I leave the choice to each of you<sup>6</sup>.' Slaves immediately brought chaplets, both of dark-green ivy and of blooming roses. 'Honour to the spring,' said Gallus, at the same time encircling his temples with a fragrant wreath; 'ivy belongs to winter; it is the gloomy ornament with which nature decks her own bier.' 'Not so,' said Calpurnius, 'the more sombre garland becomes men. I leave roses to the women, who know nothing but pleasure and trifling.'

'No reflection on the women,' cried Faustinus, from the *lectus summus*, 'for they after all give the spice to life, and I should not be at all grieved if some gracious fair one were now at my side. Listen, Gallus; you know that I sometimes attempt a little poetry, what think you of an epigram I have lately made?

Let woman come and share our festal joy,  
For Bacchus loves to sit with Venus' boy!  
But fair her form, and witty be her tongue,  
Such as the nymph's, whom Philolaches sung.  
Just sip her wine, with jocund glee o'erflow,  
To-morrow hold her tongue—if she know how."

<sup>4</sup> There is a *tabula terebinthina* in Petron. 33; *δοτράγδοι Λιβυκῆς δορκός* in Lucian. *Amor.* 884.

<sup>5</sup> Amongst the numerous oils and salves with which the hair was anointed before they were crowned, the *nardinum*, made from the blossom of the Indian nard-grass, was highly esteemed. See Salm. *Exercit. ad Sol.* 705.

<sup>6</sup> The host probably offered a variety of chaplets from which the guests could choose. See Eubulus, in *Athen.* xv. 679.

<sup>7</sup> Non veto, ne sedeat mecum conviva  
puella:  
Cum Veneris puero vivere Bacchus amat.  
Sed tamen ut possit lepida esse venustaque  
tota,  
Philolachis quondam qualis amica fuit.  
Parcius illa bibat; multum lasciva joctetur;  
Cras taceat, mulier si qua tacere potest.

‘Very good,’ said Gallus; ‘but the last doctrine will apply as well to men; I will continue your epigram:—

And you, O men! who larger goblets drain,  
Nor draining blush,—this golden rule maintain.  
While foams the cup, drink, rattle, joke away,  
All unrestrained your boisterous mirth display.  
But with the wreath be memory laid aside,  
And let the morn, night’s dangerous secrets hide.<sup>8</sup>

‘Exactly so,’ cried Pomponius, whilst a loud *σοφῶς* resounded from the lips of the others; ‘let the word of which the nocturnal *triens* was witness, be banished from our memory, as if it had never been spoken. But now to business. Bassus, you throw first, and he who first throws the Venus is king for the night.’

Bassus collected the dice in the box, and shook it. ‘Cytheris for me<sup>9</sup>,’ cried he, as he threw; it was an indifferent cast. ‘Who would think of making so free with the name of his beloved!’ said Faustinus, as he prepared for his chance. ‘To the beautiful one of whom I am thinking; take care, it will be the Venus.’ He threw; loud laughter succeeded; it was the dog. The dice passed in this manner from hand to hand till they came to Pom-

<sup>8</sup> Te quoque, majores cui non haurire  
trientes

Sit rubor, hac cautum vivere lege velim.  
Dum spumant calices, pota, strepe, lude, jo-  
care,

Vinctaque sit nullis Musa proterva modis.  
Sed pudeat, posita noctis meminisse corona:  
Non sibi sæpe mero saucia lingua cavet.

It was by no means uncommon to recite trifling effusions, or even long poems, during the *cæna et commissatio*; a practice which sometimes became tiresome. See Mart. iii. 44, 50. Martial often mentions the exclamation *σοφῶς*, by which, approbation

was usually expressed.

<sup>9</sup> Plautus frequently mentions that the person about to throw the dice invoked the name of his mistress or some deity. *Capt.* i. 1, 5; *Asin.* v. 2, 54; *Curo.* ii. 3, 77; *Asin.* iv. 1, 35. These passages, however, from comedies originally Greek, give no sure proof that it was a Roman custom to call on the gods; but probably when *Græco more bibere* had got into fashion, this habit also was adopted.

ponius. 'Ah!' exclaimed Lentulus, as Pomponius seized the box, 'now I am anxious to know which, out of the number of his loves, he will invoke, Chione or Galla, Lyde or Neæra?' 'Neither of them,' answered Pomponius. 'Ah! one, three, four, six; here's the Venus! but as all have not yet thrown, another may be equally fortunate.' He handed the dice to Gallus; he, however, as well as the Perusians, having declined the dignity, Pomponius was hailed as lord over the *crater* and *cyathus*.

'Do not let us have too much water in the mixture,' said Cæcilianus; 'for Lentulus, you know, would not be sulky even should we drink the wine neat.' 'No, no,' replied Pomponius; 'we have had a long pause, and may now well indulge a little. Three parts of water and two of wine is a fair proportion<sup>10</sup>; that shall be the mixture

<sup>10</sup> The proportions of the wine and water, differed according to the frugality of the drinkers. The Greek rule *ἢ πέντε πίνειν, ἢ τρί', ἢ μὴ τέσσαρα*, (which also occurs in Plaut. *Stich.* v. 4, 25), was unintelligible even to the later writers. Plautus and others, seem to have understood it of the number of *cyathi* which were drank, but most of the later authors refer it to the proportions of the mixing, although they differ in their explanations. Plut. *Sympos.* iii. 9. *πέντε—τρίων ὕδατος κεραννύμενων πρὸς δύο οἶνου. τρία—προσμιγνυμένων δυεῖν τέσσαρα δὲ εἰς ἓνα τριῶν ὕδατος ἐπιχειρομένων.* Athen. x. p. 426, on the contrary: *ἢ γὰρ δύο πρὸς πέντε πίνειν φησὶ δεῖν, ἢ ἓνα πρὸς τρεῖς*, which explanation is given afterwards by Eustath. on *Odys.* ix. 209, although he cites the others also. Several other proportions are mentioned in Hesiod, *Op.* 596.

*Τρεῖς δ' ὕδατος προχέειν, τό δὲ τέτρατον ἰέμεν οἶνου.* So also Ion in Athenæus, and in *Br. An. Even.* xv. 3, of Bacchus, or wine: *Χαίρει κινδύμενος τρισὶ Νύμφαις τέτρατος αὐτός*, which is supposed to be just the proportion denoted by *τέσσαρα*: but the half-and-half mixture, *ἴσων ἴσων*, frequently commemorated by Athenæus, may be equally well understood. Another proportion *πέντε καὶ δύο*, is thus explained by him: *δύο οἶνου πρὸς πέντε ὕδατος*; but in the Anacreontic cited by him, we have: *τὰ μὲν δύο ἔγχλεας ὕδατος τὰ πέντε δ' οἶνου.* The custom of drinking the wine and water mixed in equal proportions, or of the wine unmixed, was reprehended. Far less is known of the strength usual among the Romans. The passage in Hor. *Od.* iii. 19, 11, will not resolve the matter. It is only certain that a *homo frugi* drank the wine diluted,

to-night. Do you, Earinos, measure out five *cyathi* for each of us.'

The goblets were filled and emptied amidst jokes and merriment, which gradually grew louder, for Pomponius took care that the *cyathi* should not have much repose. 'I propose,' said he at length, when, from the increased animation of the conversation the power of the Falernian became evident, 'that we try the dice a little. Let us play for low stakes, merely for amusement; let each of us stake five *denarii*, and put in another for every ace or six that may be thrown'<sup>11</sup>. Whoever throws the Venus first, gains the whole sum staked.' The proposal was acceded to, and the play began. 'How shall it be, Bassus?' said Pomponius, 'a hundred *denarii* that I make the lucky throw before you'<sup>12</sup>. 'Agreed,' replied the other. 'I will also bet the same with you,' said Gallus. 'A hundred *denarii* on each side.' 'And I bet you the

that *meracius bibere* was not considered praiseworthy, and *merum bibere*, as the mark of a drunkard. The guests doubtless mixed their wine according to their tastes, and whilst one called for *meracius*, another drank almost water. Mart. i. 107; a passage remarkable for the expression *cogere*, and for the Roman name *uncia* for *cyathus*.

<sup>11</sup> The words of the letter of Augustus in Suetonius, are clear: *Talis enim jactatis ut quisque canem aut senionem miserat, in singulos talos singulos denarios in medium conferebat*. The case of the dice turning up at four aces or four sixes can hardly be meant, but it is less probable that a *denarius* was set for

every ace or six turned up, although *canis* may also denote the single ones. But since there were only four numbers on the dice, an ace or six must have been turned up at almost every throw. Perhaps a forfeit was paid when either of the two had been turned up two, three, or four times, and then in *singulos talos*, i. e. as often as the number had been turned up, *singuli denarii* were put into the pool.

<sup>12</sup> It has been already mentioned that betting was not uncommon; indeed this is evident from the interdicts issued against it; and the enormous sums often lost on one game, render it probable that there was betting at the same time.

same sum,' said Lentulus to Gallus, 'and if either of us should throw the dog, he must pay double.'

The dice went round the table, and first Cæcilianus, and then one of the Perusians, won the pool. The bets remained still undecided. When Pomponius had again thrown, he cried, 'Won! look here, each dice exhibits a different number.' Gallus took the box and threw. Four unlucky aces were the result. The Perusians laughed loudly; for which Gallus darted a fierce glance at them. The money was paid. 'Shall we bet again?' inquired Lentulus. 'Of course,' replied Gallus, 'two thousand *sesterces*, and let he who throws sixes also lose.' Lentulus threw; again the Venus appeared, and loud laughter arose from the *lectus imus*. By degrees the game became warmer, the bet higher, and Gallus more desperate. In the mean time Pomponius had, unnoticed, altered the proportions of the mixture. 'I am now in favour of a short pause,' said he, 'that we may not entirely forget the cups. Bring larger goblets, Earinos, that we may drink according to the custom of the Greeks<sup>13</sup>.' Larger crystal glasses were placed before him. 'Pour out for me six *cyathi*<sup>14</sup>;

<sup>13</sup> The chief passages respecting the drinking after the manner of the Greeks, are Cic. *Verr.* i. 26; *Tusc.* i. 40; Athen. x. 461. The custom was, that a person pledged the cup to another, thereby challenging him to empty it, at the same time uttering the name of him to whom the cup was given. It seems to have been pretty general, but Sparta formed an exception to the rule. Athen. x. 432. The usage was described as dangerous and immoral, as it naturally led to immoderate indulgence, for not satisfied with being forced to

drink freely on account of the mutual challenges, they mixed very little water, and exchanged the smaller for larger *pocula*, as we learn from Cicero. Comp. Hor. *Sat.* ii. 8, 35. Curculio also says, (Plaut. ii. 3, 81), *propino magnum poculum*; *propinare*, and more rarely *prebibere*, were the Roman expressions for *προπινειν*; perhaps also *invitare*, although all the passages where it occurs may be otherwise explained. Plaut. *Rud.* ii. 3, 32.

<sup>14</sup> The drinking of the names had



cried he. 'This cup I drink to you, Gallus. Hail to you!'<sup>15</sup> Gallus replied to the greeting, and then desired the *cyathus* to be emptied seven times into his goblet. 'Let us not forget the absent,' said he. 'Lycoris, this goblet I dedicate to you.' 'Well done,' said Bassus, as his cup was being filled. 'Now my turn has come. Eight letters form the name of my love. Cytheris!' said he, as he drained the glass. Thus the toast passed from mouth to mouth, and finally came to the turn of the Perusians. 'I have no love,' said the one on the middle seat, 'but I will give you a better name, to which let each one empty his glass; Cæsar Octavianus! hail to him'<sup>16</sup>. 'Hail to him,' responded the other Perusian. 'Six *cyathi* to each, or ten? What, Gallus and Calpurnius! does not the name

nothing to do with the proportions of the mixture, nor did it properly belong to the *Græcus mos*, although it may have thence originated. This *bibere nomen, literas, ad numerum*, has often been erroneously referred to the number of cups, of which it was thought as many were drank as the name had letters. We must rather suppose the number of the *cyathi*, determined by the letters of the name, and drank out of one cup. See Kreyssig. *Silv. Afric.* 51. Still many questions may be raised on the passages of Martial from which we derive almost our only information on this subject: the plainest of which is, i. 72. The question arises, whether if the name were changed in the vocative, the number of *cyathi* would depend on the number of letters it then had, or, on the entire number of the *casus rectus*. Martial speaks in favour of the latter, xi. 36, ix. 94; but on the contrary in viii. 51, where the voca-

tive form fixes the measure, as the *triens* contained four *cyathi*, and the word *septunx* will not allow of the word being taken in a more general sense. Perhaps it made a difference whether the person whose health was drank were absent or present. Plaut. *Stich.* v. 4, 26, where they refer the unintelligible *decuma* to the name of Stephanium, who was present, can (laying aside all question about the reading) scarcely allude to this; for Sagarinus evidently pledges Stichus.

<sup>15</sup> The words with which they drank to a person's health, were *bene te*, or *bene tibi*. They drained the goblet to the health either of one or of the whole company. Plaut. *Stich.* v. 4, 27; Persius, v. 1, 20.

<sup>16</sup> The abject senate had expressly enjoined that both at public and private banquets a libation should be made to Augustus. Dio Cass. li. 19; Ovid, *Fast.* ii. 637.

sound pleasantly to you, that you refuse the goblet?' 'I have no reason for drinking to his welfare,' rejoined Gallus, scarcely suppressing his emotion. 'Reason or no,' said the Perusian, 'it is to the father of our fatherland!' 'Father of our fatherland!' screamed Calpurnius, violently enraged. 'Say rather to the tyrant, the bad citizen, the suppressor of liberty!' 'Be not so violent,' said the stranger, with a malicious smile, 'if you will not drink it, why leave it undone. But yet I wager, Gallus, that you have often enough drank to our lord before his house was closed upon you. It certainly is not pleasant when a man thinks he has made the lucky throw to find the dog suddenly before him.' 'Scoundrel,' cried Gallus, springing up, 'know that it is a matter of entire indifference to me, whether the miserable, cowardly tyrant close his doors on me or no.' 'No doubt he might have used stronger measures,' quietly continued the stranger, 'and if the lamentations of the Egyptians had made themselves heard, you would now be cooling yourself by a residence in Mœsia.' 'Let him dare to send me there,' called out Gallus, no longer master of himself. 'Dare,' said the Perusian with a smile, 'he dare, who could annihilate you with a single word!' 'Or I him!' exclaimed Gallus, now enraged beyond all bounds, 'Julius even met with his dagger.' 'Ah! unheard-of treason,' cried the second stranger, starting up; 'I call the assembled company to witness that I have taken no part in the highly treasonable speeches that have been uttered here. My sandals, slave; to remain here any longer would be a crime.'

The guests had all risen, although a part of them reeled. Some endeavoured to bring Gallus, who now did not seem to think so lightly of the words which had

hastily escaped him, to moderation. Pomponius addressed the Perusians, but, as they insisted on quitting the house, he promised Gallus that he would endeavour to pacify them on the way home.

The other guests also bethought them of departing ; one full of vexation at the unpleasant breaking up of the feast, another blaming Pomponius for introducing such unpolished fellows ; Gallus, not without some anxiety, which he in vain endeavoured to silence by bold resolves for the future.

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## SCENE THE ELEVENTH.

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### THE CATASTROPHE.

THE day commenced very differently, on the present occasion, in the house of Gallus, from what it had done on the morning of his journey. His disgrace, by some foreseen, but to most both unexpected and looked upon as the harbinger of still more severe misfortunes, formed the principal topic of the day, and was discussed in the *forum* and the *tabernæ* with a thousand different comments. The intelligence of his return to Rome soon became diffused throughout the city<sup>1</sup>; and the loud tidings of his presence should have collected the troop of clients who, at other times, flocked in such great numbers to his house. On this day, however, the *vestibulum* remained empty; the obsequious crowd no longer thronged it. The selfish, who had promised themselves some advantage from the influence of their patron, became indifferent about a house which could no longer be considered, as it had lately been, the entrance-hall of the palace. The timid were deterred by fear of the cloud which hung threatening over Gallus, lest they themselves should be overtaken by the destroy-

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<sup>1</sup> Although the ancients had no newspapers to disseminate quickly the news of the day, the want was in some degree remedied by their public style of living. More of their time was often passed from, than at home. They visited the *forum*, the piazzas, and other places of resort; they met each other at the baths, the *tabernæ* of the *tonsores*, the *medici*

and *librarii*, and thus the occurrences of the day were easily passed from one to another; thus it was quite possible that the news of the return of Gallus should have spread over the whole city by the next day. Böttiger, *Sab.* ii., requires correction when he speaks of the *Acta diurna*, as if it were a sort of official daily paper. See Creuz. *Abr.* 154.

ing flash<sup>2</sup>. The swarm of parasites, prudently weighing their own interest, avoided a table of doubtful duration, in order that they might not forfeit their seats at ten others, where undisturbed enjoyment for the future appeared more secure. And even those few in whom feelings of duty or shame had overcome other considerations, seemed to be not at all dissatisfied when the *ostiarius* announced to them, that his master would receive no visits that day. In the house itself all was quiet. The majority of the slaves had not yet returned from the villa, and those who were present, seemed to share the grief of the deeply-affected *dispensator*.

Uneasiness and anxiety had long since banished sleep from the couch of Gallus. He could not conceal from himself to what a precipice a misuse of his incautious expressions would drive him, and that he could expect no forbearance or secrecy from the suspicious-looking strangers. Animated by the dreams of freedom with which Calpurnius had entertained him; half enlisted in the plans which the enthusiast, sincerely moved at the misfortune of his friend, had proposed to him; highly excited by the strength of the wine and the heat of play; and lastly, stung to fury by the insolence of the strange guests, he had suffered himself to be drawn into an indiscreet avowal, which he was far from seriously meaning. On calmer reflection he perceived the folly of all

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<sup>2</sup> Although it has been said (see note 3, page 113,) that the fact of Augustus having repudiated a man's friendship, was not necessarily followed by the desertion of his friends, yet this was not exactly the position of Gallus, to whom the interdict was

a sort of favour, in place of a more rigorous punishment, and hence might probably cause the alienation of friends. Ovid bitterly complains of those who, in a similar case, abjured their friend through fear. See *Trist.* i. 8 and 9, 17.

those bold projects which, in the first moment of excitement, seemed to present the possibility of averting his own fate by the overthrow of the tyrant; and he now found himself, without the hope of escape, in the power of two men, whose whole behaviour was calculated to inspire any thing but confidence. His only consolation was that they had been introduced by Pomponius, through whose exertions he hoped possibly to obtain their silence, for Gallus still firmly believed in the sincerity of his friendship, and paid no attention even to a discovery which his slaves professed to have made on the way homeward. It was as follows: his road, in returning from the mansion of Lentulus, passed not far from that of Largus; and the slaves who preceded him with the lantern<sup>3</sup> had seen three men, resembling very much Pomponius and the two Perusians, approach the house. One of them struck the door with the metal knocker<sup>4</sup>, and they were all immediately admitted by the *ostiarius*. Gallus certainly thought so late a visit, strange; but, as it was no uncommon thing for Largus to break far into the night with wine and play, he persuaded himself that it must be some acquaintances who had called upon him on their return from an earlier party.

At last the drowsy god had steeped him in a beneficial

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<sup>3</sup> See Appendix; art. *The Slave Family*; and Suet. *Aug.* 29.

<sup>4</sup> It is undeniable that bells, *tinnabula*, served as a signal to a scattered multitude to collect for a particular purpose; for their use at the baths, see Appendix; art. *The Baths*. There is, however, no proof that there were bells at the house-doors. The passage, Suet. *Aug.* 91,

is no direct evidence, and the examples adduced by Casaubon, from Dio Cass. and Lucian, only say that the family were awakened or collected by the sound of a bell. As a *janitor* was generally at the house-door, there was the less need of such a signal, and most probably only the metal knocker or ring, called by the Greeks *κορώνη*, *κόραξ*, *ρόπτρον*, was made use of.

oblivion of these cares, and although the sun was by this time high in the heavens, yet Chresimus was carefully watching lest any noise in the vicinity of his bed-chamber should abridge the moments of his master's repose. The old man wandered about the house uneasily, and appeared to be impatiently waiting for something. In the *atrium* he was met by Leonidas, approaching from the door. 'Well, no messenger yet?' he hastily inquired of him. 'None,' replied the *vicarius*. 'And no intelligence in the house?' Chresimus again asked. 'None since his departure,' was the answer. He shook his head and proceeded to the *atrium*, where a loud knocking at the door was heard. The *ostiarius* opened it. It was an express with a letter from Lycoris. 'At last,' cried Chresimus, as he took the letter from the *tabellarius*. 'My lady,' said the messenger, 'enjoined me to make all possible haste, and bade me give the letter only to yourself or your lord. Present it to him directly.' 'Your admonition is not wanted,' replied Chresimus, 'I have long been expecting your arrival.'

The faithful servant had indeed anxiously expected the letter. Although Gallus had strictly forbidden him from letting the cause of his departure from the villa become known, yet Chresimus believed that he should be rendering him an important service by acquainting Lycoris with the unfortunate occurrence. She had at Baïæ only half broken to him the secret which confirmed, but too well, his opinion of Pomponius. He had therefore urged her not to lose a moment in making Gallus acquainted, at whatever sacrifice to herself, with the danger that was threatening him, and that she should immediately return, in order to render lasting the first impression

caused by her avowal. He now hastened towards the apartment in which his master was still sleeping, cautiously fitted the three-toothed key into the opening of the door, and drew back the bolts by which it was fastened. Gallus, awakened by the noise, sprang up from his couch. 'What do you bring?' cried he to the domestic, who had pushed aside the tapestry and entered. 'A letter from Lycoris,' said the old man, 'just brought by a courier. He urged me to deliver it immediately, and so I was forced to disturb you.' Gallus hastily seized the tablets. They were not of the usual small and neat shape which afforded room for a few tender words only, but by their size evidently inclosed a large letter. 'Doubtless,' said he, as he cut the threads with a knife which Chresimus had presented to him, 'doubtless, the poor girl has been terrified by some unfavourable reports.' He read the contents, and turned pale. With the anxiety of a fond heart, she accused herself as the cause of what had befallen her lover, and disclosed to him the secret, which must enlighten him on the danger that threatened him from Pomponius. Without sparing herself, she alluded to her former connection with the traitor, narrated the occurrences of that evening, his attempt to deceive her, and his villanous threats; and conjured Gallus to take, with prudence and resolution, such steps as were calculated to render harmless the intrigues of his most dangerous enemy. She would herself arrive, she added, soon after he received the letter, in order to beg pardon with her own mouth for what had taken place.

There stood the undeceived Gallus in deep emotion. 'Read,' said he, handing the letter to the faithful freedman, who shared all his secrets. Chresimus took it, and



read just what he had expected. 'I was not deceived,' said he, 'and thank Lycoris for clearly disclosing to you, although late, the net they would draw around you. Now hasten to Cæsar with such proofs of treachery in your hand, and expose to him the plot which they have formed against you; perhaps the gods will grant that the storm which threatens to wreck the ship of your prosperity, may then subside.'

'I fear it is too late,' replied his master, 'but I will speak with Pomponius. He must know that I see through him; perchance he will not then venture to divulge what, once published, must be succeeded by inevitable ruin. Dispatch some slaves immediately to his house, to the *forum*, and to the *tabernæ*, where he is generally to be met with at this hour. He must have no idea that I have heard from Lycoris. They need only say that I particularly beg he will call upon me as soon as possible.'

Chresimus hastened to fulfil the command of his lord. The slaves went and returned without having found Pomponius. The porter at his lodgings had answered that his master had set out early in the morning on a journey; but one of the slaves fancied that he had caught a glimpse of him in the *carinæ*, although he withdrew so speedily that he had not time to overtake him. At last, Leonidas returned from the *forum*; he had been equally unsuccessful in his search, but brought other important intelligence, communicated to him by a friend of his master. 'An obscure report,' said this man, 'is going about the *forum*<sup>5</sup>, that Largus had, in the assembled senate, accused Gallus

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<sup>5</sup> The acts of the senate, until publicly proclaimed, remained *ἀπόρρητα*, not to be divulged by the

members; but there can be no doubt that some part of the debates was often suffered to transpire previously.

of high treason, and of plotting the murder of the emperor; that two strangers had been brought into the *curia* as witnesses, and that Augustus had committed to the senate the punishment of the outrage.'

The intelligence was but too well founded. In order to anticipate any steps that Gallus might take for his security, Pomponius had announced to Largus on the very night of the supper with Lentulus, that his plan had met with complete success. At day-break<sup>6</sup> Largus repaired to the imperial palace, and pourtrayed in glaring colours the treasonable designs which Gallus, when in his cups, had divulged. Undecided as to how he should act, yet solicitous for his own safety, Augustus had referred the matter to the decision of the senate<sup>7</sup>, most of the members of which were far from displeased at the charge. It is true that many voices were raised, demanding that the accused should not at least be condemned unheard; but they availed nothing against the louder clamour of those who declared that there were already previous charges sufficient to justify extreme severity; and that they themselves should be guilty of high treason did they, by delay

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<sup>6</sup> The remark of Suet. 78, about Augustus, will admit of exception in a particular case: *Matutina vigilia offendeatur ac si vel officii, vel sacri causa maturius evigilandum esset, ne id contra commodum faceret, in proximo cujuscunque domesticorum cœnaculo manebat.* The meaning of *matutina vigilia*, is explained by the preceding words: *Si interruptum somnum recuperare, ut evenit, non posset, lectoribus aut fabulatoribus arcessitis, resumebat producebatque ultra primam sæpe lucem.* Other

emperors gave admission to distinguished persons long before day-break. See Plin. *Epist.* iii. 5.

<sup>7</sup> Suet. *Aug.* 66, says only: *Gallo quoque et accusatorum denunciationibus et senatus consultis ad necem compulso.* Dio Cass. liii. 23, is more explicit. It is nowhere said that Augustus was the direct cause of his death, or that he acceded to it; from his complaints after it we may rather conclude the contrary.

or forbearance, expose the life of Cæsar and the welfare of the republic to danger. The result of the debate was a decree, by which Gallus was banished to an inhospitable country on the *Pontus Euxinus*, and his property confiscated to the emperor<sup>a</sup>. He was also to leave Rome upon the following morning, and Italy within ten days.

In the seventh hour Calpurnius rushed into the house of Gallus bringing confirmation of the dread decree, and was soon followed by others from all quarters. Gallus received the news, which cleared up the last doubts concerning his fate, with visible grief but manly composure. He thanked his friend for his sympathy, warning him at the same time to be more cautious on his own account for the future. He then requested him to withdraw, ordered Chresimus to bring his double tablets, and delivered to him money and jewels to be saved for Lycoris and himself. Having squeezed the hand of the veteran, who wept aloud, he demanded to be left alone. The domestic loitered for awhile, and then retired full of the worst forebodings.

Gallus fastened the door, and for greater security placed the wooden bar across it. He then wrote a few words to Augustus, begging him to give their freedom to the faithful servants who had been in most direct attendance upon him. Words of farewell to Lycoris filled the other tablets. After this he reached from the wall the sword to the victories achieved by which he owed his fatal greatness, struck it deep into his breast, and as

<sup>a</sup> Dio Cass. supra : Καὶ ὁ μὲν περιαλήσας ἐπὶ τούτοις ἑαυτὸν προκατέχρησάτο. Amm. Marc. xvii. 4 :

*stricto incubuit ferro.* Ovid, *Amor.* iii. 6, 63 :  
Sanguinis atque animæ prodige Galle tuæ.

he fell upon the couch dyed yet more strongly the purple coverlet, with the streams of his blood.

The *lictor*, sent to announce to him the sentence of banishment, arrived too late. Chresimus had already, with faithful hand, closed the eyes of his beloved master, and round the couch stood a troop of weeping slaves, uncertain of their future lot, and testifying by the loudness of their grief, that a man of worth was dead.

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## SCENE THE TWELFTH.

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### THE GRAVE.

THE intelligence of the melancholy end of Gallus soon reached Augustus, and made the stronger impression on him; from several influential voices having been already raised in disapproval of the senate's premature and severe decree, and expressing doubts as to the sincerity of his accusers. Now that Gallus himself had decided matters in such a way as allowed of no recal or mitigation of his sentence, and that the emperor had no longer any anxiety for his own safety, the consciousness of great injustice having been committed, took its place. When a true version of what had passed at the house of Lentulus got abroad, and it became by degrees established that Gallus was much less guilty than had been supposed, and that he had fallen a victim to an intrigue, which the hostilely-disposed senate had embraced as a welcome opportunity for his destruction<sup>1</sup>, Augustus loudly lamented the fate, which robbed him alone, among all men, of the liberty of being angry with his friends, according to his own measure and will<sup>2</sup>. He firmly renounced the decree which made him master over the property of Gallus, and ordained that whatever disposition might have been

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<sup>1</sup> The base conduct of the senate in the condemnation of Gallus, is well described by Dio Cass. liii. 24.

<sup>2</sup> See Suet. *Aug.* 66. Whether the complaint of Augustus was sincere, whether his grief was real or pretended, whether he considered the fate of Gallus too hard, or whether,

after all anxiety on his own account was at an end, he played the part of a magnanimous man, cannot be decided in the accounts given us. We must look for the truth in Dio Cassius, according to whom, Largus continued to rise in the emperor's favour, and so come to a decision as to the real feelings of Augustus.

previously made, should have full effect. The senate, with the same alacrity that they had entertained the accusation, now proceeded to declare that all guilt had been effaced by his death, and that nothing should stand in the way of an honourable funeral<sup>3</sup>.

In the other parts of Rome the most violent indignation was excited by the news of the death of Gallus and of the treachery employed against him. Pomponius was nowhere to be found, but Largus was made to feel, in its full measure, the contempt due to his villany<sup>4</sup>. When he appeared the next morning in the *forum*, a man with whom he was unacquainted stepped forward and asked whether he knew him, and on his replying in the negative, called his companion as a witness, and made him sign his name to a tablet containing this avowal, in order to be secure against any charge which Largus might bring against him. Another, as Largus approached, held his hand before his mouth and nose, and advised the bystanders to do the same, since it was scarcely safe even to breathe in the vicinity of such a person. But sincere compassion for the unhappy man's fate was every where evinced, and more especially among those classes which had not found in his advancement any cause of envy.

Profound quiet and sincere lamentation reigned in the house of misfortune. Before the doors the mournful cypress had sometime before been placed,—a sign to all

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<sup>3</sup> We need not stop to enquire how far truth has been set aside for this opportunity of describing a funeral. But if, according to Suetonius, a declaration was made by Augustus concerning the treachery employed

against Gallus, then such a reparation would be not at all unlikely.

<sup>4</sup> These facts are related by Dio Cass. liii. 24.

who approached, that one of the occupants of the house had passed into the region of shadows. Within doors, the men were engaged in anointing the body, and in endeavouring to efface the marks of the last struggle. They afterwards, with the help of Eros, placed on it the purple-edged *toga*, and adorned the brows with one of those garlands which the valiant warrior had gained in battle. This finished, they laid the corpse softly on its last bed, the purple coverlet of which left the ivory feet alone visible, and then set it down in the *atrium*<sup>5</sup>, with the feet towards the door. Close by the body, Arabian<sup>6</sup> incense was burnt in a silver censer, and a slave performed his last offices to the departed, by driving away the flies from the hands and feet with a fan of peacock's feathers<sup>7</sup>.

The corpse lay in state for several days, and during that time the remaining preparations were made for the funeral, which Chresimus had commissioned the *libitinarius* to celebrate with all the pomp suitable to the rank

<sup>5</sup> We appear to have no certain knowledge as to the part of the house in which the body lay in state. Kirchmann, i. 12, says, in the vestibule, but he seems to have been under a wrong impression. Suetonius, c. 100, certainly says of the corpse of Augustus: *A Bovillis equester ordo suscepit urbique intulit atque in vestibulo domus collocavit*, but whatever sense may be assigned to these words, there is sufficient proof in the formula itself, *ex adibus efferri, efferri foras*, that the corpse did not stand outside the *janua*, and, besides, what necessity would there then have been for the cypress before the house, to denote that it was a *domus funesta*?

Concerning the position of the body, Pliny, vii. 8, says: *Ritu natura capite hominem gigni mos est, pedibus efferri*.

<sup>6</sup> Arabia is the land of frankincense, and Saba was the *regio turifera*: hence Virgil, *Georg.* ii. 116, says:

Solis est turea virga Sabæis.

<sup>7</sup> The use of fans, made of peacock's and other feathers, is well known. The custom here mentioned was pointed out by Kirchmann, i. 12. It does not apply merely to the apotheosis of the emperors; see a decree of Justinian, *Cod.* vii. 6, 5.

of the deceased. Authorised to do so by the emperor, the old man found some alleviation of his grief in the most careful fulfilment of this, his last duty, and willingly sacrificed a portion of the half of the property which fell to his share, that nothing might be wanting which could increase the splendour of the solemnity.

About the fourth hour of the eighth day a herald proceeded through the streets, and with a loud voice invited the populace to the funeral, and the games attendant upon it. 'A Quirite,' cried he, 'is dead. Now is the time, for any who have leisure, to join the funeral procession of Cornelius Gallus; the corpse is being carried from the house.' The summons was not without effect. A crowd of sight-seers and inquisitive people flocked towards the house and the *forum* to witness the spectacle, but many persons were to be seen clad in dark-coloured togas, a token that they wished to be not idle spectators, but assistants at the ceremony.

Meanwhile the *designator*, supported by some lictors to keep off the crowd, had arranged the order of the procession, which already had begun to move from the house in the direction of the *forum*. In front marched a band of flute-players and horn-blowers, who by pouring forth alternately plaintive strains and spirit-stirring music, seemed at one time to express the sorrow and mourning of the escort, and at another to extol the greatness and worth of the deceased. Next followed the customary mourning-women, who, with feigned grief, chanted forth their untutored dirge of eulogy of the departed. Then came a number of actors, reciting such passages from the tragedians as were applicable to the present occurrence. The solemnity of the scene was interrupted only now and



then by some witty buffooneries, whilst the leader endeavoured to represent the defunct in dress, gesture, and manner of speech. After these came swarms of hirelings; there followed no lengthy train of glorious ancestors, it is true, but freedmen bearing brazen tablets, on which were inscribed the victories gained by the deceased, and the cities he had conquered. These were succeeded by others, carrying the crowns won by his deeds of valour, and, in compliance with a wish which Gallus while living had often expressed, the rolls of his elegies<sup>8</sup>, which, more enduring than martial renown and honours, have handed down his name to posterity<sup>9</sup>. After all these came the *lectus* itself, with the corpse borne by eight freedmen, and followed by Chresimus, and, with few exceptions, the rest of the family, with hat on head, a sign of that freedom which had been bequeathed to them in their master's will. The cavalcade was finished by his friends and many citizens who, though not intimate with the family, bewailed the death of Gallus as a public calamity.

Having arrived at the *forum*, the bearers set the *lectus* down before the *rostra*, and the cavalcade formed a semicircle round it. A friend of many years standing then mounted the stage, and pictured with warmth and eloquence the merits of the deceased, as a warrior, a citizen, a poet, and a man, throwing in only a slight allusion to the recent event. It was not one of those artificial

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<sup>8</sup> This was often done, and by many who were not at all connected with the deceased. See Ter. *Andr.* i. 1, 88. Many accompanied the procession only through the city, as far as the gates, and then returned: a charge laid against Propertius by the

shade of Cynthia, iv. 7, 29.

<sup>9</sup> Taken from Propertius, (iii. 13, 25), who also mentions the *lances odoriferas*, which were carried in front.

panegyrics which too often sought to heap unmerited glory on the dead, at the expense of truth ; but all who heard him were bound to confess that the words he spoke bore a simple and honest testimony to the life and actions of a deserving man.

This act of friendship having been performed, the procession was re-formed, and moved onwards to the monument which Gallus had erected for himself on the Appian way<sup>10</sup>. There the funeral pile, made of dried fir-trees, and hung round with festoons and tapestry, had been erected, and the whole encompassed by a circle of cypress trees. The bearers lifted the *lectus* upon it, and others poured precious ointments on the corpse from boxes of alabaster, whilst the bystanders threw frankincense and garlands upon it, as a last offering of affectionate regard. Chresimus, with the same faithful hands that had closed the eyes of the deceased, now opened them, that they might look upwards to heaven ; then, amidst the loud wailing of the spectators, and the sounds of the horns and flutes, seized the burning torch, and with averted face held it underneath the pile, until a bright flame shot upwards from the dry rushes that formed the interior.

The pile was burnt to the ground, and the glowing ashes, according to custom, extinguished by wine. Some friends of the deceased, and Chresimus, collected the remains of his body, which were not more than sufficient to fill a moderate sized urn, sprinkled them with old wine

<sup>10</sup> As Ovid says in that brilliant elegy, written in a just spirit of self-respect. *Amor.* i. 15. Although the poems of Gallus are almost unknown

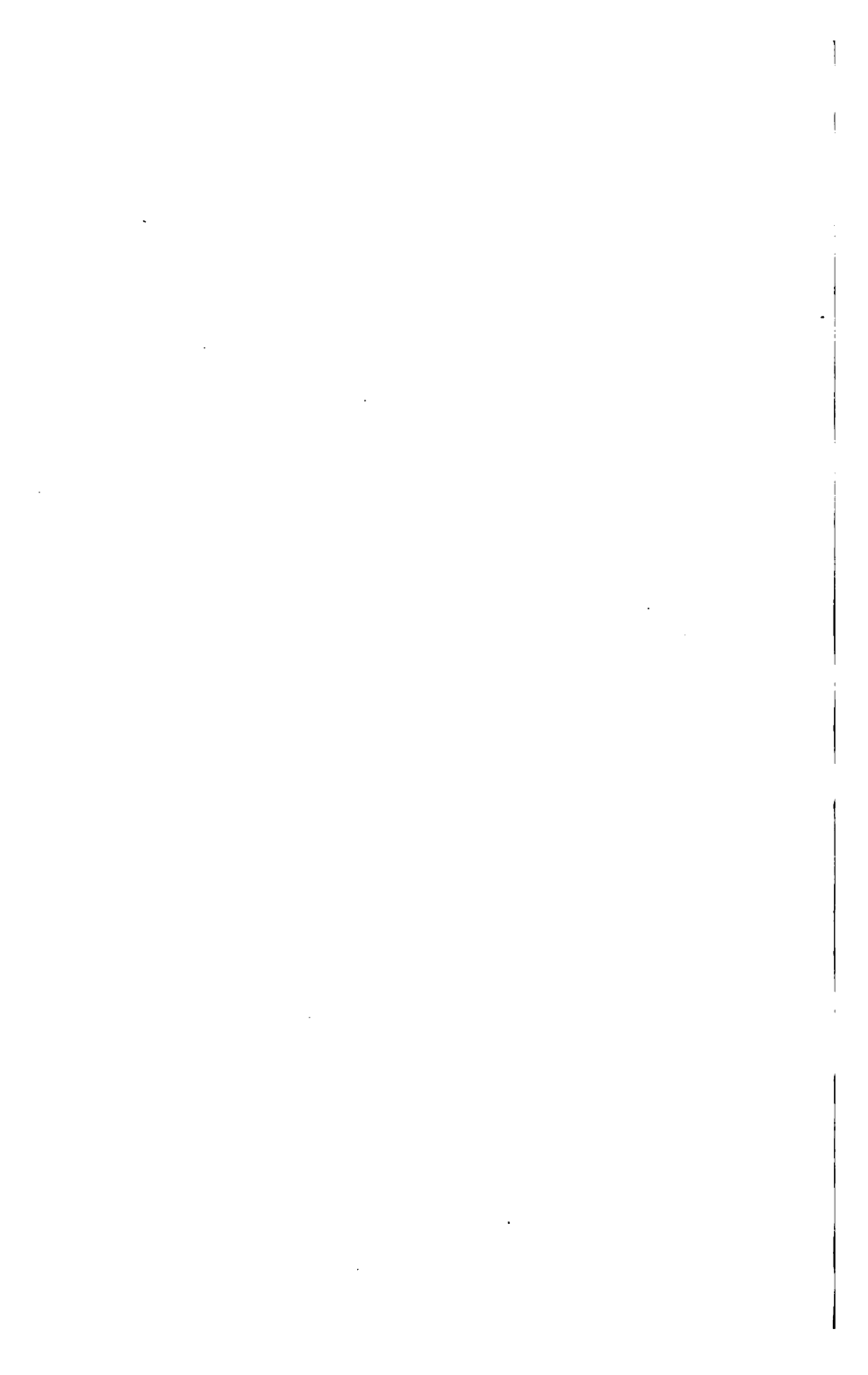
to us, yet his name still lives, and what Ovid sang is fulfilled.

Gallus et Hesperis et Gallus notus Eois,  
Et sua cum Gallo nota Lycoris erit.

and fresh milk, dried them again in linen cloths, and placed them with *amomum* and other perfumes in the urn, which Chresimus bedewed with a flood of tears. He next deposited it in the tomb, which on being opened sent forth odours from roses and numberless bottles of ointment. The doors were again closed, and after pronouncing the last farewell to his manes, and receiving the purifying water, the assembled multitude departed on its way back to the city.

The procession was a numerous one; there had been wanting only one person,—she who above all others seemed bound and entitled to fulfil the last offices to the manes of the deceased. Lycoris did not arrive in Rome till the rites had been accomplished. She had with difficulty escaped the traitor, whose inflamed passion had urged him even to offer her violence. Early in the morning of the succeeding day, Chresimus was seen to open the door of the monument, and to enter with her, that she might there weep hot tears of affliction over the ashes of Gallus.

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## **A P P E N D I X.**



## EXCURSUS I. SCENE I.

### ROMAN MARRIAGE.

A FAMILY is a domestic society consisting of persons, either bound together by natural ties, or adopted into it on certain conditions. Among the Romans, and indeed the ancients generally, there was a third component part, namely, the slaves; who, as the property of the master, were embodied into his family; and it is from this lowermost class that the whole united body derives its name. For though *familia* has been deduced from the Greek *ομιλία*, as well as the Oscan *famel*, *famul*, *famulus*; yet the latter derivative only, adopted also by Festus, v. 65, can lay claim to authenticity; and it is evident that the Romans themselves were of this opinion, from passages such as Plautus, *Mil.* ii. 3. 80.

*Familia*, then, originally denoted a certain number of slaves. That it was a fixed number, can hardly be inferred from Appulei. *Apol.* 504, but certainly a plurality must be supposed. Cicero, *Cæc.* 19. Comp. Ulp. *Dig.* l. 16, 40, *ne duo quidem*. Afterwards, however, it denoted the whole body of the domestic society; the free with their slaves, the *pater familias* (which name does not indicate him as the father, but as the superior of the house, Paul. *Dig.* l. 16, 195,) standing at their head.

In this sense, the condition of the existence of the family is marriage, it matters not in what form, whether the bond be drawn tighter or looser, provided it be the union of two persons of different sexes, *ad individuum vitæ consuetudinem*. Inst. 1. ix. 1.

Several profound disquisitions have appeared concerning Roman marriage, especially as connected with civil law. In addition to the authors cited by Creuzer, in his *Abriss. d. Roem. Antiq.* 82, may be mentioned: *I riti nuziali degli antichi Romani di Diom. Egeriaco*. Tafel, *Commentatio de divortiis*. Eggers, *Ueber das Wesen, u. d. Eigenthüml, der alt-roemischen Ehe mit manus*. Rein, *das Römische Privatrecht*, 174. Here we shall chiefly have to discuss the relations in common life, as

affected by the form of marriage, and the bearings of the different persons one to another, excluding all inquiry about its condition and consequences in respect to civil law.

Actual marriage, with the object of having children, was the privilege of the free alone, as slaves could only live in a *contubernium*, the offspring resulting from which was the rightful property of the master. Hence the *Casina* of Plautus might be liable to give offence, *Prol.* 67, *et seqq.*

Respecting the various grades of legal qualifications to marry, *matrimonium justum et injustum*, *nuptiæ*, or *matrimonium juris civilis*, *matrimonium juris gentium*, *contubernium*, see Professor Birnbaum's instructive remarks appended to Creuzer's *Abriss.* 482, *et seqq.*

By marriage, in the strict sense of the word, the woman came in *manum viri. in manu esse, in manum convenisse, alieno juri subjectum esse.* See Liv. xxxiv. 2 and 7; Brisson, d. v. s. v. *manus*. As the more general expression, *potestas*, could apply to the *patria potestas*, or the *servitus*, so *manus* also, to the man's power in strict marriage over his wife. This might be contracted in a threefold form, *confarreatio*, *coëmtio*, and *usus*. Gaius, *Inst.* i. 109, 110. The first of these rested on a religious basis, *κατὰ νόμους ἱερῶς*; both the others on civil law, though in different ways, inasmuch as in *coëmtio* the marriage was made valid by a previous contract; but in *usus* by prescription. It is doubtful which of these forms is the most ancient; it certainly, however, was not *coëmtio*: *confarreatio* is usually looked upon as the most ancient. See Eggers, 63. But it is a question whether *usus* is not entitled to the same antiquity, and whether they both did not exist coevally, from the earliest ages. At all events, the tale of the rape of the Sabines is in accordance with this supposition; and *thalassio* was referred by the later age to the marriages then contracted. Plut. in *Quæst. Rom.* 31; but Dion. Hal. ii. 25, cannot be understood to imply that *confarreatio* was the only form used in the earlier times, and it is not credible that it could have been the general one. The passage of Gaius, *usu, farreo, coëmtione*, would induce a belief in the higher antiquity of *usus*.

Nevertheless the *confarreatio* (which, too, is probably of Etrurian origin) was unquestionably of ancient date, and Romulus



is even said to have made ordinances respecting it. Dion. Hal. *supra*. The greater pomp and expense attending it were, no doubt, the cause of its being the form of marriage chiefly used among the patricians, and the only one adopted by the priests; it consequently was preserved longest, although it disappeared earliest from among the lower ranks. Tacit. *Ann.* iv. 16. The deduction made from Cicero, *pro Flacco*, 34, that there were only two forms of marriage with *manus*, and that *confarreatio* was simply a religious ceremony attendant upon the *coëmtio*, is assuredly false. The *confarreatio* performed by the Pontifex Maximus and the Flamen Dialis could not be a fiction.

The ceremony derived its name from *far*, *farreum*, (*libum*). Plin. xviii. 6. The bride was escorted by *pueri patrimi et matrimi*, and as interdiction of fire and water, *aqua et igni interdiceret*, the most indispensable things for existence, was used as the sentence of banishment, so was the foundation of the new house represented by these two elements. Varro, in *Serv. ad Æn.* iv. Compare Micyll. *ad Ovid. Heroid.* xiv. 9. Boettig. *Aldobrand. Hochz.* 157. She herself carried a *libum farreum*, and was adorned with a bridal veil, *flammeum*, of a bright yellow colour. Plin. xxi. Some would infer from Plaut. *Cas.* ii. 8, 10, that the *sponsus* was *candidatus*, but more proofs of this would be required, as in that passage the word will be more properly applied to *libertas*. Arrived at the house of the bridegroom, she was lifted over the threshold, Plut. *Quest. Rom.* 29, whereby every possible chance of her foot stumbling against the threshold, which would have been an unlucky omen, was prevented, Plaut. *Cas.* iv. 1, and greeted the bridegroom with the words, *Ubi tu Caius, ego Caia*, Plut. *ib.* 30. As regards several other customs, not peculiar to the *confarreatio*, see Brisson, Grupen, and the valuable remarks in Kreysig's *Silv. Afr.* 65—69.

The second form was the *coëmtio*, a fictitious sale, *per æs et libram, patre vel tutoribus auctoribus*. The forms usual herein, *visne mihi esse materfamilias? visne mihi esse paterfamilias?* have probably caused a mistake which will be mentioned presently. The wife purchased herself back symbolically; which Eggers erroneously refers to the *confarreatio*. Tafel, 39. is correct. On the manner of its taking place, see Varro in *Non.* xii. 531.

It is difficult to assign the actual date when *coëmtio* came into fashion; but it probably happened after intermarriages between the patricians and plebeians were allowed by the *Lex Canuleia*, A. U. C. 308. The formal ties of the *confurreatio* were possibly unsuitable, and the expenses too great for the plebeians; and hence a new form was introduced, occupying in some degree the middle place between the *usus* and the *confarreatio*. See Eggers, 86, cited above.

The third form, where the husband obtained the wife *usu*, consisted in free union, under the condition that when the woman had lived a year in the husband's house without having spent a *trinoctium* out of it (*usurpatio trinoctii*), she should be *in manu mariti*.

By all three forms, then, the woman came, *in potestatem viri*, *conveniebat in manum*; she passed from the *patria potestas* into the authority of her husband, a position not unlike that of the *filia*. See the writers cited above, as to the legal consequences. Her position in the house is characterised by her proper appellation of *materfamilias*; but much confusion has arisen on this subject, owing to the accounts of later authors, who wrote at a time when the whole relation had become obsolete, and only existed in tradition. The criterion given by Gellius of the *materfamilias* is unquestionably the correct one, that she must be *in manu mancipioque mariti*. He differs from Melissus, who made the following distinction between *matrona* and *materfamilias*, that *matrona* was she *quæ semel peperit*; *materfamilias*, *quæ sæpius*; and had drawn the elegant comparison between *matrona* and *porcetra*, *materfamilias* and *scropha*, xviii. 6, 9, *Matremfamilias appellatam esse eam solam, quæ in mariti manu mancipioque, aut in ejus, in cujus maritus, manu mancipioque esset; quoniam non in matrimonium tantum, sed in familiam quoque mariti, et in sui heredis locum venisset*. He gives this not merely as his own opinion, but as that *quod idonei vocum antiquarum enarratores tradiderunt*. The same account is given by Serv. *ad Virg. Æn.* xi. 476, and Nonius *de Diff.* vv. 442. Servius, however, mentions another opinion, *alii matronas virgines nobiles dicunt, matresfamilias vero illas, quæ in matrimonium per coëmtionem convenerunt*. Boëthius explains the notion, (*ad Cic. Top.* 3), in the same way; but at the

same time restricts the meaning of *manus*: *Quæ autem in manum per coëmtionem convenerant, eæ matresfamilias vocabantur, quæ vero usu vel farreo minime*; and then, *Itaque mulier viri conveniebat in manum, et vocabantur hæ nuptiæ per coëmtionem*. The following argument only is required to get rid of these contradictions. Gellius says the *materfamilias* must be *in manu mancipioque mariti*, and therein all agree; but Cicero expressly says that the woman comes *in manum*, as well *usu* as *coëmtione*; and Gaius, in two passages, *usu, farreo, coëmtione*; so the women who had contracted marriage *usu* or *confarreatione*, were likewise *matresfamilias*. Boëthius is therefore in an error, which is easily explained. *Confarreatio* had early fallen into disuse among the lower classes, and the *usucapio* also had long ceased to lead to the *manus*, Gaius iii., whence the only remaining form of strict marriage, *coëmtio*, and the formulæ with which it was performed, denoted the woman especially as *materfamilias*; the notion, *quæ non inhoneste vivit*, Dig. L. xvi. 46, was certainly an insertion of later date.

Eggers, 11, and Tafel, 29, are wrong when they take the name *matrona* in contradistinction to the *materfamilias*, for the woman in free marriage, *uxor tantum*. The words of Gellius are only directed against Melissus, in order to shew that *matrona* is not *quæ semel peperit*, nor *materfamilias, quæ sæpius*. From passages such as Cic. *p. Coel.* 13, we gather that *matrona* was a more general, *materfamilias* a more special designation. Hence every *materfamilias* was also a *matrona*, but not *vice versa*.

The position of the *materfamilias* in a Roman family was one of dignity, especially if she could, by amiability and other good qualities which command respect, render the subordination to her husband required by the law less irksome. Unlike the custom in the Greek household, (see Wachsmuth, *Hell. Alt.* ii. 1), she took her place by the side of the *paterfamilias*, as presiding over the whole household economy, instructress of the children, and guardian of the honour of the house; and the same respect that was paid to her at home, was extended to her abroad also. Neither was she consigned to particular apartments in the house, but in early times her place of abode was in the most important part of it,—the *atrium*, where the *lectus genialis* or *adversus* was her place of honour; from hence she

exercised her sway over the whole house. See Lipsius, *Elect.* i. 17; Boettig. *Aldobr. Hochz.* 124.

The formalities preceding the marriage were called, generally, *sponsalia*. Servius Sulpicius in *Gell.* iv. 4. The same is meant by *conventæ conditio*, especially in reference to the conditions made. Festus, *Exc.* 47. Such stipulations are of frequent mention in Plautus. See *Pæn.* v. 4; *Curc.* v. 2; *Aul.* ii. 2; but above all, *Trin.* ii. 4, 98. Compare *Aul.* iii. 5, 2. When the promise was once given, any refusal to abide by it was actionable, *ex sponsu agebatur*. Sulp. *supra*. The rest of the terms in use respecting the espousals, such as *sperata*, *pacta*, *sponsa*, explain their own meaning. Eggers, 15, assumes quite arbitrarily *sperata* to signify the woman in free marriage, before she had come *in manum*, by the lapse of an entire year. He mainly rests his assertion on Plautus, *Amphitruo*, ii. 2, 44,

*Amphitruo uxorem salutat lætus speratam suam;*

but *sperata* there is equivalent to *ἀσπαρία*, she who is longed for in absence; besides, it would be ridiculous to fancy Amphitruo living in free marriage with Alcmena. Eggers foists in *suam* after *uxorem*, thus altering the sense, and making the verse monstrous. Nonius says, (iv. 213), *virgo prius quam petatur sperata dicitur*.

*Pacta*, in Nonius also *dicta*, is the epithet of the girl after acceptance of the conditions and promise given. See Plautus, *Trin.* *supra*. Whether *sponsa* differs from it in signification may be much doubted. Sulpicius says: *Tum quæ promissa erat, sponsa appellabatur, qui spoponderat ducturum, sponsus*. In any case *sponsus* can only be confined to the time after the solemn affiancing; but there is no ground for supposing, with Eggers, that *pacta* is to be understood of the *confarreatio*, and *sponsa* of the *coëmtio*.

In whatever form the marriage ceremony might have been performed, it was, at least in later years, possible to obtain divorce; *divortium, divortium facere, divertere*, i. e. *in diversas partes ire, discedere (repudium, discessio)*. See Wächter, *Ueber Ehescheidung bei den Römern*. But it is said that no divorce occurred till the time of Sp. Carvilius Ruga. The year in which Carvilius obtained a divorce is differently given. Gellius (xviii.

21, 44) says: *Anno post Romam conditam quingentesimo undevicesimo Sp. Carvilius Ruga primus Romæ de amicorum sententia divortium cum uxore fecit, quod sterilis esset, jurassetque apud Censores, uxorem se liberum quærendorum causa habere*; but (iv. 2) the same author, after Servius Sulpicius, assigns as the date, the year IOXXIII. Valerius Maximus, ii. 1, 4: *Repudium inter uxorem et virum, A.C.V. usque ad vicesimum et quingentesimum annum nullum intercessit*. Similarly, Dion. Hal. ii. 25. The first year of the 137th Olympiad would be the year 521, A.U.C. Doubts however have been raised about this having been the first divorce at Rome, and more than one method has been tried to reconcile the account of the old authors with the contradiction that lies in the matter itself; for that it was the first in some respects must be considered as certain, from the concurrent testimony of so many authors. Without citing any more authorities on this subject, which has been so fully discussed by Savigny, Zimmern, Wächter, Niebuhr, and others, it may be sufficient to refer the reader to Rein, *Röm. Priv.* 207, where the different writings on the subject are mentioned.

The more solemn and binding the form of the marriage, so much the more difficulty was naturally laid in the way of a separation; and where *confarreatio* had taken place, a formal *diffarreatio* was necessary. See Festus, 56. When Dion. Hal. (ii. 25) pronounces the marriage by *confarreatio* indissoluble, the assertion may be considered correct of ancient times, when there were few divorces of any kind. The word *diffarreatio*, which occurs on inscriptions, sufficiently proves that it happened in later times. At a still later period, when *conventio in manum* grew less customary, divorce became fearfully prevalent. Mart. vi. 7. Compare Juv. vi. 225. The usual formula was *tuas res tibi habeto*, as prescribed by the twelve Tables, and the wife gave up the keys of the house. See Festus v. *clavis*, and the commentators on Cic. *Phil.* ii. 28; comp. Plaut. *Amphit.* iii. 2, 47, and the jocular application, *Trin.* ii. 1, 31.

Whether *discessio* was only a gentler expression for *divortium*, or was usual in the free-marriage, cannot be decided from Ter. *And.* iii. 3, 36, but *repudium* had a double meaning. At one time it was said for every divorce, as in the passage cited above from Valerius Maximus. Modest. *Dig. L.* 16, 101. *Divor-*

*tium inter virum et uxorem fieri dicitur; repudium vero sponsæ remitti* (the proper expression was *renunciare*. Plaut. *Aul.* iv. 10, 57; Ter. *Phor.* iv. 3, 72), *videtur, quod et in uxoris personam non inepte cadit*; but it also denotes, generally, the retraction of the promise of marriage. Paul. *Dig.* l. 16, 191. The formula used at the *repudium* was *conditione tua non utor*. Gai. *Dig.* xxiv. 2, 2.

Besides—though not at the same time with—the proper marriages, *concubinatus* was frequent; a kind of morganatic marriage, which had nothing degrading in it, and was even allowed by the *Lex Julia Papia Poppæa*, but was without any legitimate consequences. It took place between persons of unequal condition, as, for instance, when a senator wish to live with a *liberta*. See Birnbaum's *Zusätze z. Creuz. Abr.* 484. On the other hand, *peller* was a female having forbidden intercourse with a man who was living with a woman in a state of wedlock or concubinage. Comp. *Dig.* l. 16, 144.

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## EXCURSUS II. SCENE I.

### EDUCATION.

IF any one thing more strikingly than another develops the austerity of the Roman character; and its propensity to domination, it is the arbitrary power which the father possessed over his children. By the laws of nature, immediate authority over the children belongs to the father, only for the time during which they require his providing care, protection, and guidance. The humanity and right feeling of the Grecian legislators led them to take the matter in this point of view, allowing the authority of the father to last only till the son was of a certain age, or till he married, or was entered on the list of citizens; and they so restricted this power, that the utmost a father could do was to eject his son from his house, and disinherit him. Not so in Rome. There the child was born the property of his father, who could dispose of it as he thought fit. Dion. Hal. ii. 26, after drawing attention to the difference of the Grecian laws, says : ὁ τῶν Ῥωμαίων νομοθέτης ἅπασαν ὡς εἰπεῖν ἔδωκεν ἐξουσίαν πατρὶ καθ' υἱοῦ καὶ παρὰ πάντα τὸν τοῦ βίου χρόνον, ἐάν τε εἴργειν, ἐάν τε μαστιγοῦν, ἐάν τε δέσμιον ἐπὶ τῶν κατ' ἀγρὸν ἔργων κατέχειν, ἐάν τε ἀποκτινύναι προαιρήται. This power might last, under certain limitations, till the death of the father. Comp. Tiraquell, *ad Alex. ab Alex. Gen.* d. vi. 10, 523. Thus the decree cited by Dionysius, c. 27, and belonging to an early age, which was enacted, as is supposed, by Numa Pompilius : ἐὰν πατὴρ υἱῷ συγχωρήσῃ γυναῖκα ἀγαγέσθαι κοινῶν ἐσομένην ἱερῶν τε καὶ χρημάτων κατὰ τοὺς νόμους, μηκέτι τὴν ἐξουσίαν εἶναι τῷ πατρὶ πωλεῖν τοὺς υἱούς. This severity was much mitigated in actual life, but the law was still in force, and a father who gave up his *patria potestas* had to go through the form of the threefold sale.

It is not clear whether the barbarous custom of exposing children, such sad proofs of which could be given by the *columna lactea*, was also allowed by law; still the expression *tollere infantes liberos*, intimates a custom similar to that of the Greeks.

Nine days after the birth of the boys (*nundinæ*), and eight after that of the girls, the *lustratio* took place, (Macrob. *Sat.* i. 16), and at the same time the *ὄνομαθεσία*, *nomen accipiebant*. Hence the day was called *dies lustrica*, *dies nominum*. At this solemnity it was usual for the children to be presented with toys, *crepundia*, even by the slaves (Ter. *Phorm.* i. 1, 13); which also took place on the child's birth-day (perhaps only after the first year?) Plaut. *Ep.* v. 1, 33. Plautus mentions as playthings of this kind, (*Rud.* iv. 4, 110), *ensiculus aureolus literatus*, with his father's name. *Duæ connexæ maniculæ. Sucula argentea*. Epidicus: *aurea lunula et anellus aureus*. The children carried these toys suspended from their necks, (Plaut. *Mil.* v. 6), and being of metal, they were called from their clanking (*a crepando*), *crepundia*. Works of art representing children with such *crepundia* on their necks, have been preserved. See *Mus. Pio-Clem.* iii. tab. 22; Visc. 30, and tab. A. 12; Visc. 72; where it is interesting to recognize all the different objects mentioned in Plautus. Compare also Boettig. *Amalth.* i. 27.

The first part of the children's education was under the superintendence of the mother, and not entrusted to the slaves, and those requisite to attend and wait on the children were chosen with great care, in order that they might be free from vicious discourse and bad dialect, which would have been detrimental to their charge. In the earliest times the first instruction was perhaps given in the house. It is thus that Plautus, *Bacch.* iii. 3, 37, speaks of the ancient times, and no doubt means the Roman:

Inde de hippodromo et palæstra ubi revenisses domum,  
Cincticulo præcinctus in sella apud magistrum assideres:  
Cum librum legeres, si unam peccavisses syllabam,  
Fieret corium tam maculosum, quam est nutricis pallium.

On the other hand he says, (*Merc.* ii. 2, 32),

Hodie ire in ludum occæpi literarium.

And no doubt schools had been early originated, though not under public inspection—even for girls, if the tale of Virginia is to be believed. Dion. Hal. xi. 28. Next to Plautus, Horace gives the most graphic and attractive picture of these schools. He had been brought by his father to Rome, because the school at Venusium was of an inferior sort, and he describes how the



boys sauntered to school with their satchels and counting-tablets. *Sat.* i. 6, 72. See Heindorf's note thereon. Ovid also was brought with his brother from Sulmo to Rome.

Martial, who lived near one of these schools, does not say much for the humanity of the *ludi magistri*, and children were no doubt often unwilling to attend them; ix. 69; xii. 57; v. 84. Juvenal describes the unpleasant life they led, vii. 150.

The instruction was however very simple (as among the Greeks γράμματα, γυμναστική, μουσική, and at the most γραφική, *Arist. Rep.* viii. 3): reading, writing, arithmetic, were the subjects (hence *Mart.* x. 62, *calculator et notarius*); and as the ten commandments are learnt among us, the Roman lad was compelled to learn the twelve tables of the laws. *Cic. Leg.* ii. 23: *Discebamur enim pueri duodecem, ut carmen necessarium, quas jam nemo discit.* It was not till after the subjection of southern Italy, which brought the Romans into closer contact with the Greeks, and made them acquainted with their arts and sciences, that they felt the necessity of having domestic teachers, by associating with whom, the children might become accustomed to the Greek tongue at an early age. Thus, in compliance with a Greek custom, *pædagogi* became usual, who, if they did not instruct the children themselves, used to escort them to school, as the *nutrices* did the girls. As a natural consequence, the instruction at the *ludi literarii* became a different one. The understanding, feelings, and taste, began to be formed by a perusal of Greek authors, especially Homer, with whom they commenced. *Plin. Epist.* ii. 14, *Sic in foro pueros a centumviralibus causis auspicari, ut ab Homero in scholis.* *Comp. Hor. Epist.* ii. 2, 42. Cicero received a complete Grecian education. *Suet. De Clar. Rhet.* 2.

The higher classes frequently had their children educated at home even later in life, or they returned to it again. *Plin. Epist.* iii. 3, says of the son of Corellia Hispulla, *adhuc illum pueritiæ ratio intra contubernium tuum tenuit; præceptores domi habuit; jam studia ejus extra limen proferenda sunt; jam circumspiciendus rhëtor Latinus,* etc. The last custom, that of rising youth attending the schools of the Rhetoricians, took place before they had assumed the *toga virilis*. *Ovid, Trist.* iv. 10, 15; v. 27.

The year in which this *tirocinium fori* took place, is still a mooted question. According to Boettiger, *De originibus tirocinii apud Romanos*, 207, it took place in early times at the end of the sixteenth year, and in later, when the fifteenth year was completed. On the other hand, Prof. Klotz assumes in the *Jahrbücher für Philol. u. Pädag.*, that such a year was not at all fixed, but that it depended in every case on the father, who introduced his son into public life, sooner or later, according to his discretion. Notwithstanding it seems more plausible to suppose that the completion of the fifteenth year conferred a right to the *toga virilis*, and that this period was the one generally received. Augustus assumed the *toga* on his sixteenth birthday. Suet. viii. So Persius and Virgil, and Cicero's son also. Probably it was not till under the Emperors that the assumption took place before the end of the fifteenth year; whence Tac. *Ann.* xii. 41, *virilis toga Neroni maturata, quo capessendæ reipublicæ habilis videretur*. He assumed it in his fourteenth year; but no doubt it did happen later, since the father or tutor might, on account of the youth's character, deem it unadvisable to allow him to enter so early into a more independent state. Caligula was twenty years old before Tiberius allowed him to lay aside the *toga prætexta* (Suet. *Cal.* 10); which easily explains the passage in Cicero, *p. Sext.* 69: *cui superior annus idem et virilem patris et prætextam populi iudicio togam dedit*; for it always depended on the *iudicium patris*, whether the son might take the *toga virilis* at fifteen or not; and as a certain year is fixed for coming of age, which however can fall earlier, if the father will it, so was it also with the *tirocinium fori* at Rome.

It appears quite as certain that the ceremony took place, originally on the sixteenth of March, at the *liberalia*. Ovid says expressly (*Fasti*, iii. 771),

Restat ut inveniam, quare toga libera detur  
Lucifero pueris, candide Bacche, tuo.

Cic. *p. Att.* vii. 1. It does not appear, till a later period, to have become the custom to give it on the birthday.

The boy deposited the *toga prætexta* and the *bullæ* in the forum, and received instead the *toga virilis, pura libera*. It

was called *libera* because he now began a freer, less restrained course of life. Boettiger derives the expression from the connexion with the *sacra Bacchica*; but as Ovid, who was uncertain about the reason of its taking place at the *liberalia*, attempted four different explanations, without giving it, surely it would appear a very bold step to fall in with Boettiger's opinion. Ovid's expression (*Trist.* v. 777) just reverses the matter.

Sive quod es Liber, vestis quoque libera per te  
Sumitur, et vitæ liberioris iter.

The *toga* is not, then, called *libera* from *liberalia*, but because being *libera*, it is given in the *liberalia*: in this sense only could Ovid have used the comparative *liberior toga*. The expression is explained by Plutarch: *περὶ τοῦ ἀκούειν*, c. 1. *ὅτε τῶν προσ-  
ταττόντων ἀπήλλαξαι, τὸ ἀνδρεῖον ἀπειληφὺς ἱμάτιον.* Comp. *Pers. Sat.* v. 30.

The education was still not looked upon as complete, and instruction continued to be given as before. Ovid. *Tr.* iv. 29, *et studium nobis, quod fuit ante, manet.* After the subjugation of Greece it was not uncommon for persons who wished to give their sons a more polished education to send them to Athens. See Cicero *pro Att.* xii. 32, where others, such as Bibulus, Acidinus, Messala, are mentioned. Ovid also went thither, *Trist.* i. 2, 77. See what Horace says of himself, *Epist.* ii. 40.

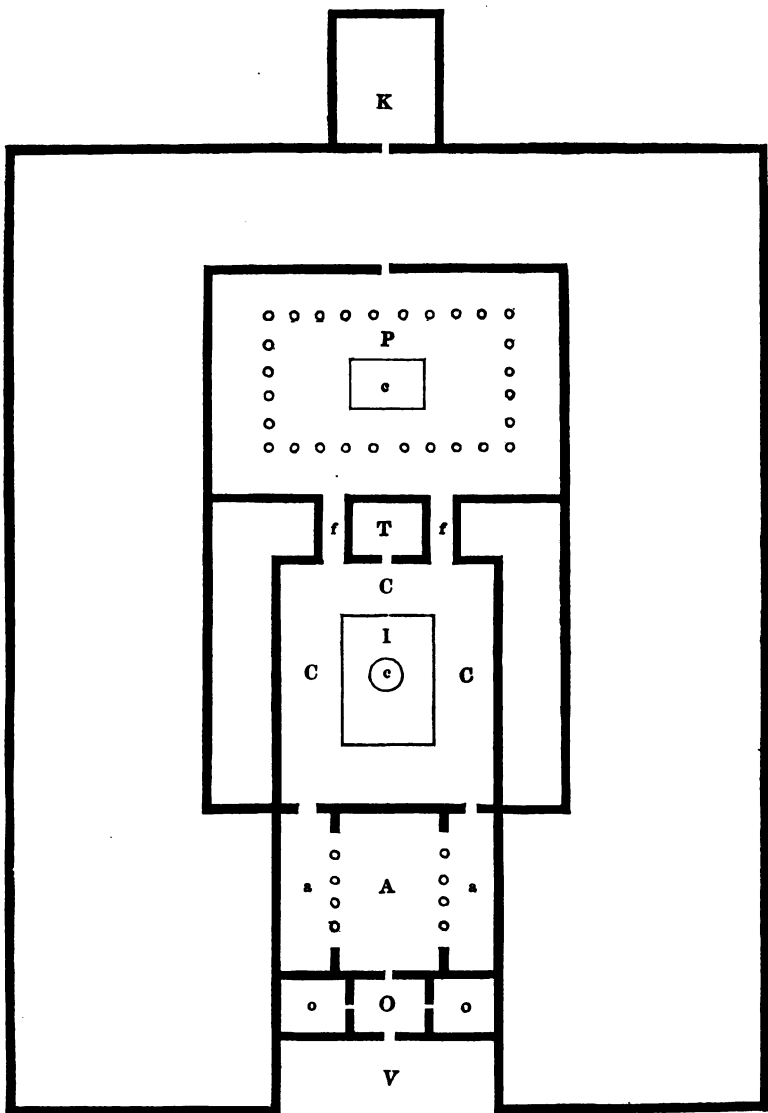
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## EXCURSUS I. SCENE II.

### THE ROMAN HOUSE.

ONE of the most difficult points of investigation throughout the whole range of Roman antiquities, which bear on domestic life, is the discussion on the several divisions of the house, their position and relation to each other. We might fancy, after all the excavations in Herculaneum, and more especially in Pompeii, where the buildings have been laid open to our view, that the greatest light would have been thrown on this point; but we should greatly err were we to take the houses in the latter city as a criterion of the regular Roman house. It is true that they have much similarity; indeed, the habitations of antiquity generally were by no means so various in their arrangements as are those of our own times; for the situation and disposition of certain parts were alike in all. Still there were many parts belonging to a large Roman mansion which those living in provincial towns did not require; and thus from its being supposed that these remains present a true picture, though on a small scale, of what the others were, additional error has crept into the matter. Comp. Hirt, *Gesch. der Bauk*, iii. 323.

Besides, no ancient author has given us a regular account or plan of a Roman residence. Our chief sources of information are Vitruvius, vi., the letters of the younger Pliny, and isolated passages in Varro, Gellius, Festus, Plautus, Cicero, Seneca, Petronius, &c. But Vitruvius instructs us only how and in what proportions to build a house; the position and use of the individual parts could not in his day have been a matter of doubt. How therefore could it ever have occurred to him to enter into any explanation on the subject? Pliny again, ii. 17, and v. 6, does not describe a *domus urbana*, but two villas; although the plan of one of them does not appear to be materially different from that of a regular house. We must endeavour then, by combining the scattered notices on the subject, to throw some light on it, and lay down a plan of a Roman house accordingly.



PLAN OF A LARGE ROMAN HOUSE.

V. *Vestibulum*.

O. *Ostium* or *Janua*.

o. o. *Cellæ Ostiariæ*.

A. *Atrium*.

a. a. *Alæ*.

C. *Cavum ædium*.

I. *Impluvium*, in the centre of which is

c. *Cistern* or *Fountain*.

T. *Tablinum*.

f. f. *Fauces*, or entrance into the *Peristylum*.

P. *Peristylum*, in the centre of which is

c. A *Cistern* or *Fountain*.

K. *Æcus Κυζικηνός*.



The modern writers who especially come under our consideration, are Scamozzi, *Archit.*; Winkelmann, *Schriften über die herkulanischen Entdeckungen*; Stieglitz, *Archäol. der Bauk*; Mazois, *Les Ruines de Pompeii*, ii. 3; *Le Palais de Scaurus*, by the same author, translated into German by Wüstemann; Gell's *Pompeiana*, and Goro's *Wanderungen durch Pompeii*. Among these works, the candid account of Winkelmann is the only one which does not contain manifest errors; besides which, some are remarkable for an exuberant fancy, that receives and gives as the strict truth the dreams of what never existed. The annotations of the editors of Vitruvius are of more importance; for instance, the editions of Schneider, Stratico, and the latest one by Marini, the English translation by Newton, and Genelli's *Briefe über Vitruv.*

#### PARTS OF THE HOUSE.

It must be borne in mind that in this discussion about the Roman habitation, we refer only to the regular *domus*, the *ædes privatae*. The *insulae*, or lodging-houses, which were several stories high, and calculated for the reception of several families and single individuals, must necessarily have been built in an entirely different manner, and doubtless with no less variety of plans than ours.

In describing the Roman *domus*, the house of one of the higher sort of citizens, we shall treat in the first place of such parts as had their situations fixed and always the same, and formed the skeleton, so to speak, to which the other parts were appended. These were the *vestibulum*, *ostium* (θυρῶπειον), *atrium*, *alæ*, *cavum ædium*, *tablinum*, *fauces*, *peristylum*.

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## VESTIBULUM.

It may be justly doubted whether the *vestibulum* can with propriety be inserted amongst the divisions of the house, as it was strictly no kind of building. Still it appertained to the area of the house, and has besides often been sought for in the house itself. Even Marini (tab. cvi.) has marked the regular entrance-hall, within the house, as the *vestibulum*! In the plan given by Stratico after Newton, something else appears to be meant, yet there also it is a space closed in on all sides. On the other hand, Rode, Stieglitz, and Hirt, have placed it before the house; but the front of the house formed a straight line, and the *vestibulum* lies before it, covered by a roof sustained by pillars; a vacant space is thus left on each side of it, in front of the house, with which nobody knows what to do. This notion of the matter therefore appears completely wrong.

There can be no doubt what we are to understand by the term *vestibulum*, according to Gellius and Macrobius; for the former says, (xvi. 5), *Animadverti quosdam haudquaquam indoctos viros opinari, vestibulum esse partem domus priorem, quam vulgus atrium vocat. C. Cæcilius Gallus in libro de significatione verborum, quæ ad jus civile pertinent, secundo vestibulum esse dicit non in ipsis ædibus neque partem ædium, sed locum ante januam domus vacuum, per quem a via aditus accessusque ad ædes est, cum dextra et sinistra inter januam tectaque, quæ sunt vice juncta, spatium relinquitur, atque ipsa janua procul a via est, area vacanti intersita.* Hence the *vestibulum*, instead of projecting before the front, receded, and was a vacant space towards the street, and before the house, and enclosed on three sides, by the middle main building where the *janua* was, and by the two wings projecting into the street, *tecta, quæ sunt vice juncta. Dextra et sinistra* are to be understood in relation to the *janua*. Macrobius says the same, but more concisely: *Ipsa enim janua procul a via fiebat, area intersita, quæ vacaret.* Sat. vi. 8. Comp. Plautus *Most.* iii. 2, 132.

It is not to be supposed that the *vestibulum* was covered with a roof or latticed, though it might have been adorned by statues and similar ornaments.

On the uncertain etymology of the word, (according to Sul-



picius Apollinaris, from *væ* and *stabulum* = *lata stabulatio*), see Gellius and Macrobius, above mentioned. From *Vesta*, Ovid. *Fast.* vi. 303. Comp. *Isidor. Orig.* xv. 7. *Vestibulum* comes from *vestare*, in the same manner as *prostibulum* from *prostare*, yet the meaning lies only in the particle *ve*. Originally this seems to have meant outside, or beyond, like, in some cases, the Greek *παρά*; thus *vecors* is the same as *excors*, *παράφρων*, and so also *vesanus*. So *vegrandis*, that which is of a larger size than usual; and it can be easily conceived how the particle could thus have had sometimes a strengthening, sometimes a negative meaning. Comp. Heind. Hor. *Sat.* i. 2, 129, where *vepallida* signifies more than usually pale. It is quite evident how excellently this meaning suits *vestibulum*.

### OSTIUM.

The name *ostium* denotes the entrance of the house, and is therefore synonymous with *janua*, *fores*. Cic. *Nat. Deor.* ii. 27. This entrance was exactly in the middle of the house; the separate parts of it are *limen inferum et superum*. Plaut. *Merc.* v. 1, 1.

The Romans had a beautiful custom of saluting the person who entered by a *salve*, drawn in mosaic upon the lower threshold, as we see from those found at Pompeii. See Goro *Wand. d. Pomp.* Over the door, *super limen*, they suspended a bird that had been taught to give this salutation, Petron. 28. In Trimalchio's house there was much that would not be found elsewhere, but the *pica salutatrix* is mentioned by Mart. viii. 87, and xiv. 76, and the parrots were especially taught to say *χαῖρε*. Pers. *Prol.* 8.

The *postes* (properly signifying door-posts, frequently used by the poets for the door itself, and even for *valvæ*. See Gesn. *ad Claud. d. raptu. Pros.* iii. 147), were made of marble or curiously carved wood, (Plaut. *Most.* iii. 2, 133), inlaid with tortoise-shell, like the *postes* and *valvæ*. The *valvæ* were adorned with ivory and gold, *bullæ*, (Plaut. *Asin.* ii. 4, 20; Cic. *Verr.* iv. 56), and used in ancient times to open inwards in private houses, whilst

in public buildings they opened outwards, a privilege granted only to men of especial merit, as a mark of respect. See Plut. *Poplic.* 20; Dion. Hal. v. 39; Plin. xxxvi. 15, 24. In later times this distinction does not appear to have been observed. See Fea, *ad Winkel.* 1, 48, 471. The distinction drawn, Isid. *Orig.* xv. 7, *fores dicuntur, quæ foras; valvæ, quæ intus revolvuntur*, is by no means confirmed by custom; for the doors of the temples opened outwards, and yet Cicero calls them *valvæ*, the doors of dwelling-houses inwards, and yet they are always called *fores*. Comp. Sagitt. *de jan. vet.*

The door was closed during the day, but not generally fastened; and in Plautus the strangers who knock do so only for the sake of propriety; nobody, whether lord or slave, knocks at his own door, not even Dorippa and Syra, who arrive unexpectedly from the country, *Merc.* iv. 1. Neither does Stichus, *Stich.* iii. 1, or Mnesilochus, *Bacch.* iii. 4. Theuropides, *Most.* ii. 2, 14, wonders at finding the door fastened; as does Dinacium also, *Stich.* ii. 1, 36; and therefore Alcesimarchus gives particular orders for these doors to be fastened, *Cist.* iii. 18. They fastened the door by drawing across it, *opponere, apponere*, cross-bolts of wood, *sera, repagulum, obex*, fastened together by means of the *pessulus*, supposed to be a pin that went through both, *pessulum obdere, obserare*. For the purpose of opening the door the *pessulus* was drawn back by means of the key that fitted in. See Salmas. *Exerc. Plin.* 649. Boettiger, *Kunstmythol.* ii. 260. The doors could also be fastened from without, as we gather from Plautus, *Most.* ii. 1, 57: *Clavem mihi harunce ædium Laconicam jam jube efferi intus; hasce ego ædes occludam foris*. The whole subject is very intricate, and therefore a separate article is given on *The Closing of the Doors*.

It is extraordinary that no mention is made anywhere of an entrance-hall, and yet we can scarcely imagine a house without one. Immediately behind the door was the *cella ostiarii*, or *janitoris*, Suet. *Vit.* 16; Petron. 29; and the dog with the warning *cave canem*; sometimes a painted dog, as Petronius relates. Such an one has been discovered at Pompeii. See *Mus. Borb.* ii. 56; Gell, *Pompeii*, i. 142. Hence we may suppose that the space, probably not a very large one, between the outer

door and the *janua interior*, was included under the name of *ostium*. Moreover, in all the plans of the Roman house with which we are acquainted an entrance-hall is admitted. Comp. Genelli, *Briefe üb. Vit.* i. 45.

### ATRIUM.

The most important question in our examination of the Roman house is, as to what is to be understood by the *atrium*; and upon the reply to it depends the correctness of the whole description, as any error in it must give a false plan of the building; for the distribution of most of the other divisions depend upon the situation and nature of the *atrium*. On this point there exists two different opinions.

The most common idea is, that it is only another appellation of the inner court, *cavum ædium*. This is the explanation given by Galiani, Ortiz, Rode, Stieglitz, Hirt, Ottfr. Mueller (*Etrus.* i. 255), Marini, and others. Schneider's does not materially differ—that the *cavum ædium* denotes the whole interior space, and *atrium* its covered portions; whilst Mazois understands by *atrium* the whole, and by *cavum ædium* the uncovered space. The supposition that they were identical is chiefly based on improperly explained passages in Varro and Vitruvius, and on the notion that the houses of Pompeii must necessarily have had regular *atria*. The chief passage, the palladium as it were of all maintaining this opinion, is in Varro, *Ling. Lat.* iv. 45. *Cavum ædium dictum, qui locus tectus intra parietes relinquebatur patulus, qui esset ad communem omnium usum. In hoc locus si nullus relictus erat, sub divo qui esset, dicebatur testudo, a testudinis similitudine, ut est in Prætorio in castris: si relictum erat in medio ut lucem caperet, deorsum, quo impluebat, impluvium dictum et sursum, qua compluebat, compluvium: utrumque a pluvia. Tuscanicum dictum a Tuscis, posteaquam illorum cavum ædium simulare cæperunt. Atrium appellatum ab Atriatibus Tuscis; illinc enim exemplum sumtum. Circum cavum ædium erant uniuscujusque rei utilitatis causa parietibus dissepata; ubi quid conditum esse volebant, a celando cellam appellarunt; penariam ubi penus; ubi cubabant, cubiculum; ubi cænabant cænaculum vocitabant, etc.* The words which

especially refer to the subject of our present enquiry, *atrium appellatum*, &c., have been translated, "It (*cavum ædium*) was called *atrium*." The question is, by what authority? Varro explains the appellations of all the individual parts of the house, and points out their etymology. He defines,—as he had before done *domus* and *ædes*, and afterwards *tablinum*,—the terms, *cavum ædium*, and its species, *testudinatum*, *Tuscanicum*, *impluvium*, *compluvium*, *atrium*, *cella*, *penaria*, *cubiculum*, *cœnaculum*. But what right have we to refer the name *atrium* to the *cavum ædium*? Or rather, what prevents us from translating, "*The Atrium has its name from the Atriates*"? On the contrary, Varro had completed the explanation of the *cavum ædium*, its species and parts, and passed on to the *atrium*. The fact of his once more mentioning the *cavum ædium* does not prove that he had been talking of it all through; and without doing so he could not have described the position of the *cellæ*. This passage therefore, instead of affording proof of the identity of the *atrium* and *cavum ædium*, rather shews the contrary.

Next it is asserted that Vitruvius has several times used *cavum ædium* and *atrium* for the same part. We may pass over the stale argument again adduced by Marini, which has been gathered from the words *in atrii latitudine* (b. vi. 3). Schneider has demonstrated that it would be absurd to say *in atrii latitudine*, instead of *in latitudine*, if *atrium* had meant *cavum ædium* itself. But another passage has more plausibility about it. Vitruvius says, c. 8, Stratic. (Schneid. and Marini 5.), he will lay down *quibus rationibus privatis ædificiis propria loca patribus familiarum et quemadmodum communia cum extraneis ædificari debeant. Namque ex his quæ propria sunt, in ea non est potestas omnibus introeundi, nisi invitatis; quemadmodum sunt cubicula, triclinia, balneæ, ceteraque, quæ easdem habent usus rationes. Communia autem sunt, quibus etiam invocati suo jure de populo possunt venire, i. e. vestibula, cava ædium, peristylia, quæque eundem habere possunt usum. Igitur his qui communi sunt fortuna, non necessaria magnifica vestibula, nec tablina neque atria, quod, etc.* From this passage it has been inferred, that because *cava ædium* is mentioned the first time, and *atria* the second, that they are synonymous; but the inference is entirely false. *Igitur his*, etc., does not stand

as a consequence of that which immediately precedes. Vitruvius had only explained the meaning of *propria et communia loca*, and, after making the transition by *igitur*, proceeded to give the above precepts for everybody planning his house conformably to his condition and means. But even if an immediate connexion existed between the two sentences, it would not follow that *atria* signified *cava ædium*; for Vitruvius did not wish to mention all the *loca communia*, but *quæque eundem possunt habere usum*. And he here names *tablina*, which did not at all belong to the *loca communia*, but rather to those places which ordinary men, having no *tabulæ*, *codices*, *monumenta rerum gestarum in magistratu* to preserve, did not require. The same remark refers to the *atria*, which had not been mentioned above; but how the *cava ædium* could be omitted in the construction of a house, is not conceivable. On the contrary, Vitruvius, (c. 4, or 3, 3), after describing the various *cava ædium*, says, *Atriorum vero longitudo et latitudines tribus generibus formantur*; thus placing the *atria* in opposition to the *cava ædium*, for otherwise he would have said, *latitudines vero atriorum*.

We will now adduce other proofs of the difference between them. Quintilian says of the Mnemonicians, who desired to impress on their memory the locality of a house (*Inst. Or.* xi. 2, 20, 305): *Primum sensum [vel locum] vestibulo quasi assignant, secundum atrio, tum impluvia circumeunt, nec cubiculis modo aut exedris, sed statuis etiam similibusque per ordinem committunt*. It is difficult to understand what *circumire impluvia* can here mean, except to go round the *impluvium*, along the covered passages, out of which the doors led into the various apartments, and between the columns of which statues were placed. Cic. *Verr.* i. 19, 23. Seneca says (*Epist.* 55) of two artificial grottos in the villa of Vatia: *Spelunæ sunt duæ magni operis, laxo atrio pares, manufactæ; quarum altera solem non recipit, altera usque in occidentem tenet*. It does not appear, however, what similitude there was between grottos and a *cavum ædium*, whose inner space was uncovered. Was Seneca thinking of a *testudinatum*? But these were never *laxa*; on the contrary, *ubi non erant magni impetus*, Vitruv. c. 3. Lastly, Pliny (*Epist.* ii. 17) gives a description of his *Villa Laurentina*, built

after the fashion of the city, in which *atrium* and *cavum ædium* appear not only quite different, but separate from each other. He says, *Villa... in cujus prima parte atrium frugi, nec tamen sordidum: deinde porticus in D (or O) literæ similitudinem circumactæ, quibus parvula, sed festiva area includitur... Est contra medias carædium hilare, mox triclinium satis pulcrum, quod in litus excurrit. Undique valvas aut fenestras non minores valvis habet, atque ita a lateribus et a fronte quasi tria maria prospectat; a tergo cavædium, porticum, aream, porticum rursus, mox atrium, silvas et longinquos respicit montes.* Schneider appears entirely to misunderstand the passage, for he supposes the same apartments were repeated again, and lay behind the *æcus cycizenus*, but in inverse order, and thus that there was an *atrium* at each end of the building. But the *triclinium* reached to the sea, and a view was obtained through all these rooms backwards only. As the *atrium* and *cavum ædium* are here separate from one another, it has been supposed, to get rid of the difficulty, that the *atrium* in the time of Pliny was quite different from that of Vitruvius. In corroboration of this, Schneider quotes the description of the Tusculan villa, *Epist. 5, 6; Multa in hac membra; atrium etiam ex more majorum;* and fancies that in this *villa* there was an *atrium* after the ancient fashion, but in the Laurentian, on the contrary, one *novo more*. But the most we can infer from the words, *more majorum*, is, that in Pliny's time it was no longer the custom to build *atria*, at least in villas.

Only one difficult passage now remains. Festus says: *Atrium est genus ædificii ante ædem continens mediam aream; in quam collecta ex omni tecto pluvia descendit;* this is, as Schneider remarks, quite erroneous, and betokens a confused idea of the matter, probably occasioned by confounding it with *vestibulum*. The old *atria* might doubtless have gone out of fashion in the time of Festus; for immediately after the great fire, in the reign of Nero, the houses assumed an entirely different appearance. Suet. *Ner. 16.* This, in part corrupt passage, is in Plin. *H. N. xiv. 1, 3: Eædem (vites) modici hominis altitudine adminiculatæ sudibus horrent vineamque faciunt, et aliæ improbo reptatu pampinorumque superfluitate, peritia domini amplo discursu atria media complentes.* Pliny

evidently wishes to describe an extraordinary exuberance, and assigns the two extremes of growth. The question is, whether such be the case when a vine covers a whole *impluvium*; by which *atria media* should be understood. He has already said, *Populis nubunt . . . atque per ramos . . . scandentes cacumina æquant, in tantum sublimes, ut vindemiator auctoratus rogum ac tumultum excipiat. Nullo fine crescunt, dividique aut potius avelli nequeunt. Villas et domos ambiri singularum palmitibus ac sequacibus loris memoria dignum inter prima Valerianus quoque Cornelius existimavit. Una vitis Romæ in Livie porticibus subdiales inambulationes umbrosis pergulis operat, eadem duodenis musti amphoris fœcunda*, etc. After such an extraordinary instance as this, a vine that covers an *impluvium* is very insignificant. If we suppose the *atrium* to be the same as *cavum ædium*, and imagine a greater *atrium*, sixty feet in length, then its breadth would, according to Vitruvius, be forty feet. The uncovered space would, in that case, be at most one third of the breadth, *ne minus quarta, ne plus tertia parte*; consequently about thirteen feet broad by twenty feet long, which would give the very small superficies of sixty-five square ells. In the next place, we might inquire why so great *peritia domini* was requisite, as the *pergulæ* were common to all houses; the connexion also of *peritia* with *domini* is strange; for surely it was the business of the *viridarius*, and not of the master, thus to train the vines. These considerations throw considerable suspicion on the passage; besides which the MSS. are very conflicting, and several read without any sense, *pampinorumque peritiam damna discursu at. med. com.* So we may almost surmise that some very different meaning is to be sought in the passage—perhaps, *per itinera domus*?

In the *atrium* stood the *lectus genialis*, or *adversus*, so called because this symbolical marriage-bed was placed *janua ex adverso*. See the commentators on Prop. iv. 11, 85; Obbarius *ad Horat. Epist.* i. 1, 87, 92. Where are we to suppose this *lectus* placed, if the *atrium* was the inner court? In the *atrium* also stood *vetere more*, the looms, *telæ*, of the female slaves who worked there. Ascon. *ad Cic. Mil.* 5. But there would hardly have been room for them in the passages round the *impluvium*, particularly as the doors into the various *cellæ* and *cubicula* led from thence.

Two more observations may be offered in opposition to Schneider's explanation. First, the collective appellation *atrium*, would have been a strange one for the *four* passages or halls that surrounded the *impluvium*; and if we allow this, the proportions assigned by Vitruvius will not apply; for the *impluvium* was longer than it was broad, and consequently two of the passages would have been broader or narrower accordingly. Secondly, if the whole space be meant, with the *impluvium* in the middle, there arises another difficulty. Vitruvius speaks of the *atria* being thirty feet long, and consequently twenty feet broad at the utmost; from this one-third goes for the *impluvium*, and only six and two-third feet remain on each side for the passages. Vitruvius (cap. 3—10) should be read in order to discover all the contradictions to which the common explanation gives rise.

Hence it appears that the *atrium* was quite a different part of the house from *cavum ædium*. It was the first (*januis proxima*) as well as the largest saloon, about which more will be said in the explanation of *alæ*.

The etymologies given of *atrium* are very various. Varro derives it from *Atriates*, for which there can scarcely be any other ground than the chance similarity of the names; on the same principle as Festus deduces *histrio* from *Histria*. Festus says concerning it, *vel quia a terra oriatur, quasi aterreum*; as if the whole of the ancient Roman house was not on the ground floor. Servius *ad Æn.* i. 730, goes so far as to derive it from smoke, *atrum enim erat ex fumo*. But the strangest explanation is that of Ottfr. Mueller, *Etrus.* i. 256, who says in reference to Varro's etymology, as the *Atrias* on the Adriatic sea, is originally the land of the streams flowing together, (*Athesis, Tartarus, Padus*, and others), and the collecting place of all the waters of upper Italy, so the *atrium* is that part of the house where the water that rains down upon the roof flows into the *compluvium* and *impluvium*. Besides, this goes for nothing, if *atrium* be not the same as *cavum ædium*. The most usual derivation, and not an improbable one, is from *αἶθριον*; for the *atrium* had a wide opening in the roof, *lumen*, through which, as in the other parts of the house, the light was cast from above. See Vitruv. vi. 4; Winkelm. W. i. 551. But if we are to adopt



a Greek derivation, we should rather be inclined to think that the word was the same as *ἀθρόον*; for it was in the *atrium* that the whole family was accustomed to assemble, to enjoy each other's company, to work, and, in early times, to dine also. Still it is difficult to determine the etymology of words that belong to a remote period, and which might have had an origin quite inconceivable to us.

### ALÆ.

Nothing agrees better with the supposition that the *atrium* was a different part of the house from the *cavum ædium*, than the idea which we can alone form of the *alæ*. Those who take the *atrium* to be the inner court, can form no correct opinion about the *alæ*, and hence has arisen the strange notion that they were the side-buildings running longitudinally parallel to the *cavum ædium*, and in which were the various *cellæ* and *cubicula*. Galiani, Perrault, Stieglitz, Hirt, Böttiger, (*Sab.* ii. 86, 102), Wüstemann, (*Pal. d. Saur.* 55, 56). On this supposition it is difficult to conceive why Vitruvius fixed the breadth of the *alæ* in proportion to the length of the *atrium*. The *alæ* (in this sense) did not belong to the *cavum ædium*; they were separated from the passages by walls, and could have had as much depth for each separate cell or compartment, as the architect pleased; this also is in direct contradiction to the usage of the word. The *alæ*, it is true, are not further mentioned in a dwelling; but we have the analogy of the Tuscan temples, (the *atrium* also is of Tuscan origin), in which there can be no doubt of their nature. The Tuscan temple could have *three*, or only *one*, *cella*. Vitruvius, iv. 7, says of it, *Latitudo dividatur in partes decem; ex his ternæ partes dextra ac sinistra cellis minoribus, sive ibi alæ futuræ sint, dentur, reliquæ quatuor mediæ ædi attribuantur*. The *alæ* therefore in the one-celled temple, were narrower side-halls right and left of the great *cella*, and probably divided from it only by a row of pillars. Thus we must picture to ourselves the *alæ* in the *atrium*, only that the proportion of their breadth was less; and we now see why the breadth was fixed in proportion to the length of the *atrium*, which was in fact that of the *alæ* also. The edifice then was

similarly constructed to many of our churches, which are divided into a large centre aisle and two smaller side aisles. Mazois and Marini felt that the *alæ* must be something of this kind, but they were prevented, by their false notion about *atrium*, from assigning their true position. They take them to be on both sides of the back hall, by the *impluvium*.

We now see to what use the columns in the *atrium* were applied, (Plin. xxxvi. 3), for the roof was much too high to be supported by them; but the *trabes liminares* of the *alæ* were not higher than the breadth of the *alæ*. Possibly, in earlier times, piles only occupied the place of columns.

### CAVUM ÆDIUM<sup>1</sup>.

Our remarks on the *atrium* have shewn what was the general nature of the *cavum ædium*; it was the inner court, the real heart of the house, around which the other divisions were situated. In the centre was an uncovered space, *area*, styled *impluvium*, and enclosed on all sides by covered passages, which were divided into the following kinds, according to the construction of the roof.

I. *Tuscanicum*, in which beams were laid *in latitudine atri*, resting upon the opposite walls; into these two others were mortised, or hung in at equal distances from the wall, the *interpensiva* of Vitruvius, and on these timbers which thus formed a square, lay the *asseres*, the spars which supported the roof. See Hirt, *Gesch. d. Bauk*, iii. 271; Genelli, *Briefe über Vitruv.* i. 62. This was probably the most ancient mode of building, but not suitable for a very large *cavum ædium*.

II. The *tetrastylum* differed only in pillars being placed in the four corners where the *interpensiva* lay upon the main beams. This possibly took place only in *cavædia* of larger dimensions, for fear of imposing too much weight on the beams.

III. In the *Corinthium* the beams did not lie on the walls, *a parietibus recedunt*, but were upheld by a row of columns which encircled the *impluvium*.

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<sup>1</sup> *Cavum ædium*, according to Varro and Vitruvius: *cavædium*, to Pliny.

IV. In the *displuviatum* the roofing did not slope inwards towards the *impluvium*, but towards the walls, where gutters caught the rain-water, and carried it down. The advantage of this was that, in winter, or gloomy weather, the light from the surrounding apartments was not intercepted by a low roof.

V. The *testudinatum* was covered, and had no *impluvium*. The *testudo*, however, was not an arch, *camera*, but a common roof of rafters. See Vitruv. v. 1 ; Hirt, *supra*. How a *cavum ædium* of this description received the requisite light, we are not informed.

In the middle of the *impluvium* there was generally a cistern, or fountain, the basins of which were four-cornered, and generally adorned with reliefs, *putealia sigillata*. Cic. *Att.* i. 10.

#### TABLINUM.

It is very difficult to assign the correct position of the *tablinum*, nor are we acquainted with any passage containing information on the subject. It is true that Festus says, 273, *Tablinum proxime atrium locus dicitur, quod antiqui magistratus in suo imperio tabulas . . .* ; and Paul. *Diac. Exc.* 154, *Tablinum locus proximus atrio a tabulis appellatus*. But whatever idea we may form of the *atrium*, this place is not discoverable. It does not suit the theory of those who, under the word *atrium*, understand *cavum ædium*, because a number of different chambers would have been then *proxime atrium*. Again, if we take *atrium* in the sense given above, there will be no proper place where it could have been situated. We shall be less inclined to attach importance to this explanation of Festus, when we recollect that he had an erroneous idea about the *atrium* itself. The *tablinum* has been usually supposed opposite the *ostium*, or, according to our supposition, the *atrium*, beyond the *cavum ædium*, and has been laid down thus in the plan we have given.

There appears to be no doubt that *tablinum* is to be derived from *tabula* ; the only question is, whether *tabula* (according to Varro's interpretation) means board, or whether the *tabulæ rationum* and the like, are alluded to, which is most probable. Besides the authority of Festus for this, we have that of Pliny,

(xxxv. 2, 2), who, in praising the olden time, says, *Tablina codicibus implebantur et monumentis rerum in magistratu gestarum*. Hence it was in some measure the archives of the house that, which in reference to the *res publica*, was called *tabellarium*.

In ancient times the Roman house probably did not extend beyond the *tablinum*, and the following parts belong to later periods, when, as luxury increased, the house was considerably extended.

### FAUCES.

What, or rather where, the *fauces* were, is a point on which there exists great diversity of opinion, and upon which we know next to nothing. Perrault, Rode, and Schneider have supposed it to be the hall which we have comprehended under the term *ostium*; but such quotations as, *Vestibulum ante ipsum primisque in faucibus Orci*, (Virg. *Æn.* vi. 273), do not shew that other passages in the house might not have had the same name; and Vitruvius calls the passages in the Grecian house, which supplied the place of the hall, *iter*, not *fauces*. Galiani, Ortiz, and Stratico understood by this term, *aperturam per quam transitus habetur ab atrio ad tablinum*, which is rather obscure. Mazois, Hirt, and Marini conceive them to be passages leading to the larger *peristylum*, on each side of the *tablinum*; and we have adopted this idea, because Vitruvius lays down the breadth of the *fauces* in proportion to that of the *tablinum*, which would have been unnecessary, had they not been in some manner connected with it. It is evident that some such thoroughfares must have existed, and if we set the *tablinum* in the place assigned to it, this is the most plausible position of the *fauces*.

### PERISTYLIUM.

Behind the *cavum ædium* and *tablinum* lay the larger *peristylum*, in the shape, like the former, of an oblong square; but while the *cavum ædium* reached longitudinally from the *atrium* to the *tablinum*, the *peristylum*, on the contrary, lay transversely beyond the *tablinum*. Vitruv. 4. *Peristylia autem in trans-*

*verso tertia parte longiora sint, quam introrsus*, and consequently extended longitudinally towards the sides of the house. The surrounding porticos, the pillars of which might not be more than four diameters from each other, enclosed a larger area, which also had a cistern or jet in its centre, and was planted with flowers, shrubs, and trees. See Obbar. *ad Horat. Epist.* i. 10, 22.

We now come to the divisions of the house which might be arranged differently, according to circumstances and the tastes of the owners; whilst those already described held the same position in all genuine Roman houses, and were built according to a received plan, which in the main was not deviated from.

The parts which especially remain for our consideration are *cubicula*, *triclinia*, *æci*, *exedra*, *pinacotheca*, *bibliotheca*, *bali-neum*. The baths and library will be treated of in distinct articles, in order that the disquisition on the usages concerning them may not be separated from the description of their situation and construction.

### CUBICULA

was the name for all the smaller chambers, that served as regular lodging and sleeping apartments, *Cubicula nocturna et diurna*, (Plin. *Ep.* i. 3); the former are also called *dormitoria*, id. v. 6. Plin. xxx. 6. 17. There is nothing particularly worthy of remark respecting their position, except that a small ante-room was sometimes attached, which went by the Greek name, *προκοιτων*. Plin. *Ep.* ii. 17. There were *cubicula æstiva* and *hiberna*, and the bed-chambers were removed as far as possible from all disturbances. See Mazois, *Pal. d. Saur.* 68.

### TRICLINIA.

Respecting the *triclinia*, Ciacconi and Orsini have, according to the old fashion, collected a good deal *e re* and *a re*. They were smaller dining-halls or rooms, according to Vitruvius, twice as long as they were broad. Their height was half the sum of the breadth and length; consequently, when sixteen feet broad, and thirty-two feet long, they were twenty-four feet high.

There were particular *triclinia* as well as *cubacula* for the different seasons of the year. Vitruvius directs that the *verna* and *autumnalia* be towards the east, the *hiberna* towards the west, and the *æstiva* towards the north; but this arrangement of course depended much upon the disposable room.

### ÆCI

were larger saloons, of various styles of architecture, which were used also, though not exclusively, as *triclinia*. Vitruvius mentions various sorts of such saloons.

I. The *tetrastylus*, which requires no particular explanation. Four pillars supported the roof.

II. The *Corinthius*. This had rows of pillars on all four sides, along the wall, though detached from it, so that a passage was left between them. They were connected by an *epistylum*, along which ran a *corona*, and upon this rested the roof, which was moderately arched.

III. The *Æcus Ægyptius* was still more splendid; like the Corinthian, it had also pillars on all four sides, but from their entablature to the wall there was a flat roof, so that the height of the passages was not more than that of the pillars with the entablature. Above the lower pillars a second row was placed, (*ad perpendicularum*), the height of which was one-fourth less than that of the lower ones, and on the *epistylum* of these rested the roof. Above the roof of the passages was a pavement, outside of the middle and higher saloon, so that there was a passage all round, and a view through the windows placed between the columns. Thus the *æcus Ægyptius* presented the appearance of a *basilica*, which is built in this manner.

IV. The fourth kind, the *æcus Κυζικηνός*, seems, even in the time of Vitruvius, to have been uncommon and new; for he says that such saloons are now *Italicæ consuetudinis*. Their peculiarity was, that they had on three sides (Vitruvius says only *dextra et sinistra*) glass doors, or windows reaching like doors to the ground, so that when reclining on the *triclinia*, persons could enjoy a view on all sides into the open air. Pliny had a saloon of this description in both his villas. To have commanded such a view, they must have projected from the rest of the house.

## EXEDRÆ.

Vitruvius places these with the *æci*, i. e. with the *quadrati*; for those mentioned above had the proportions of *triclinia*, and there can be no doubt that we must understand thereby regular rooms for conversation and the reception of company. In certain respects only can they be compared with the *exedræ* in the public *gymnasia*, which were semicircular recesses with seats in the colonnades. Vitruv. v. 11. *Constituntur in porticibus exedræ spatiosæ, habentes sedes, in quibus philosophi, rhetores, reliquique, qui studiis delectantur, sedentes disputare possint.* Of course these were in the open air, (Vitruv. vii. 9), *apertis locis, id est peristyliis aut exedris, quo sol et luna possit splendores et radios immittere.* That Wüstemann, *Pal. d. Saur.* 126, is wrong in inferring that in private houses also they were without covering, is evident from Vitruvius assigning their height in common with the *æci quadrati*. *Sin autem exedræ aut æci quadrati fuerint, latitudinis dimidia addita altitudines educantur.* Comp. vii. 3. They were called *exedræ*, according to Mazois, 119, because on two sides they had such semicircular recesses; but perhaps really only from their being used for similar purposes, and on account of the seats; for undoubtedly they had seats, and not *lecti* to recline on. Cic. *Nat. Deor.* i. 6. *Nam cum feriis Latinis ad eum [Cottam] ipsius rogatu arcessituque venissem, offendi eum sedentem in exedra et cum C. Velleio senatore disputantem.* Hence also, *De Orat.* iii. 5, *cum in eam exedram venisset, in qua Crassus, lectulo posito recubuisset, etc.*

## PINACOTHECA.

In the old Roman houses there was certainly no *pinacotheca*, any further than that the intercolumniations of the *cavum ædium* or *peristylum*, the *gymnasium* and the garden, were adorned with statues. Marcellus, Flaminius, Æmilius Paulus, and especially Mummius, took, it is true, a great number of works of art to Rome, but they were only used for beautifying public buildings and palaces, and Cic. *Verr.* i. 21, praised those men *quorum domus, cum honore et virtute florerent, signis et tabulis pictis erant*

*vacuæ*. Even among the Greeks, the desire for the personal possession of works of art arose only at a late period, when public spirit was gradually disappearing, and they were more and more divesting themselves of the habit of looking on what belonged to the community as their own property also, and ceased to seek their own glory in the grandeur of their country. How much more was this the case at Rome, where even the taste for art was wanting, and where, at a later period, vanity and fashion, rather than love or knowledge of the subject, led people to form collections. See Becker's *Antiq. Plautinæ*, i. 28.

In the time of Vitruvius it was considered good taste to possess a *pinacotheca*, (see Plin. xxxv. 2), and he therefore prescribes the manner of constructing that, as of every other part of the house. A northern aspect was selected for it, that the colours might not be injured by the light of the sun. The *tabulæ*, (for wood was in general used for painting on, although Cicero, *Verr.* iv. 1, mentions pictures on canvas, *in textili*), were either let into the wall, or hung against it. Cic. *Verr.* iv. 55. Plin. xxxv. 10, 37, (*quæ ex incendiis rapi possent*). Comp. *Antiq. Plaut.* 47. No passage in which frames for the pictures are mentioned, occurs to us at present, however natural it may appear to have had them. In Plin. xxxv. 2, there is nothing about them, yet several paintings on the walls are provided with frames, like borders, as, for instance, that one known by the name of the Aldobrandini marriage. Comp. Winkelm. W. v. 171.

The remaining portions of the building, as the *cellæ familiares*, the *penaria*, (concerning the *vinaria* consult the article on the *Drinks* of the ancients), the *culina*, and the *pistrinum* are too unimportant in themselves, and too little is known of their arrangement, to require description here.

#### UPPER STORY.

The ground floor was the principal part of the building, and served as the regular place of abode. The apartments above them went by the common name, *cænacula*. Varro, *supra*. *Posteaquam in superiore parte cœnitare cœperant, superior domus universa cænacula dicta*. Festus, 42. *Cænacula dicuntur, ad*



*quæ scalis ascenditur.* Hence, too, Jupiter says, jocularly, Plaut. *Amph.* iii. 1, 3: *In superiore qui habito cœnaculo.* As the lower divisions of the house were of different heights, and in some instances received light from above, it was impossible to have an unbroken succession in the upper rooms; to connect which, several flights of steps were therefore requisite; proof of this has been discovered at Pompeii. Occasionally, too, these stairs ascended from the street outside. Liv. xxxix. 14. *Consul rogat socrum, ut aliquam partem ædium vacuum faceret, quo Hispana immigraret. Cœnaculum super ædes datum est, scalis ferentibus in publicum obseratis, aditu in ædes verso.* Above these *cœnacula*, or over the ground floor, terraces were laid out, and planted with trees, shrubs and flowers. In the early periods these may have stood in tubs filled with earth, but afterwards they undoubtedly had regular gardens on the pavement. These roof gardens were called

#### SOLARIA;

a name which is, however, of more extensive signification, and denotes generally a place where we can enjoy the warmth of the sun. Seneca (*Cont. Exc.* v. 5) testifies to what an excess this pleasant custom was carried, *alunt in summis culminibus mentita nemora et navigabilium piscinarum freta.* Sen. *Ep.* 122. *Non vivunt contra naturam, qui pomaria in summis turribus serunt? quorum silvæ in tectis domorum ac fastigiis nutant, inde ortis radicibus quo improbe cacumina egissent?* The *solaria* built by Nero in front of the houses and *insulæ*, and resting on piazzas, were somewhat similar. Suet. Nero, 16. *Formam ædificiorum Urbis novam excogitavit, et ut ante insulas ac domos porticus essent, de quarum solariis incendia arcerentur.* Tacit. *Ann.* xv. 4, 3, refers to *insulæ* only. These *solaria* were probably not much unlike our balconies. Comp. Winkelm. W. i. 391.

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Having gone through the different parts of the house, we must now briefly mention the remainder of the buildings, and the internal arrangements. Many of the objects, however, come

under the head of works of art, and as they are sufficiently discussed in another place, a few hints and references may here suffice.

### FLOOR.

The floor, *solum*, was not as a general rule boarded, although Statius, in the *Sphæristerium* of Etruscus, according to the present text, mentions planks, *tabulata*, *Silv.* i. 5, 57 :—

Quid nunc strata solo referam tabulata, crepantes  
Auditura pilas.

It usually consisted of pavement of rubble, *pavimentum* (*ru-deratio*, *opus ruderatum*). This probably led to laying the floor with slab-work, *pavimentum sectile*, λιθόστρωτον, (which word however, has a more extensive meaning), composed of *crustula*, small pieces of differently coloured marble, either squares or in the shape of diamonds and polygons. Instead of marble, pieces of baked earth, *opus testaceum*, were also used. Paintings were executed in mosaic, for which sometimes slips of marble of divers colours, *tessellæ*, and at others of glass, were used, *opus s. emblema tessellatum, vermiculatum, crustæ vermiculatæ, opus musivum, ἀσάρωτον*. See Plin. *Ep.* xxxvi. 25; Vitr. vii. 1; Gurlitt, *Ueber die Mosaik. Archæol. Schr.* 159; Minutoli and Klapproth, *Ueb. antike Glasmosaik*; Ottfr. Mueller, *Archæol.* 438; Steinbuechel, *Alterthumswissensch.* 24, which gives specimens of antique *parqueterie* and mosaic; D'Agincourt, *Histoire de l'Art*, v. tab. 13; Zahn, in his beautiful work, *Die schönsten Ornamente und Gemälde aus Herkul, und Pomp.*; Marini, tab. 15, 87. The most important of all known antique mosaic paintings, is that of the battle of Alexander, discovered in Pompeii, 24th Oct., 1831. *Mus. Borb.* viii. t. 36—45.

### THE WALLS.

The inner walls of the rooms, saloons, and colonnades (in ancient times probably only whitewashed) were covered with marble slabs, or artificial marble. Mamurra (in the time of Catullus) was, according to Pliny, the first to set an example of such luxury in his house, (*H. N.* xxxvii. 6, 7), *Primum Romæ*

*parietes crusta marmoris operuisse totius domus suæ in Cælio monte Cornelius Nepos tradidit Mamurram.* The ancients were so experienced in the construction of imitation marble, that they could even saw slabs of it out of the wall again, and use them for tables. Vitr. vii. 3. Paintings, however, were much more common, as a decoration for the walls; and even in the more insignificant abodes of Pompeii and Herculaneum, we meet with this cheerful ornament. This is not the place for inquiring when the ancients began to paint on the bare walls. The question has been much discussed, but the criticisms on both sides afford ample room for emendation. The testimony of Pliny (xxxv. 10, 37) is important as far as regards private houses. This kind of painting had been long adopted in Greece before any such ornament had been thought of in Rome. The subjects of these wall-paintings were very varied, from grand historical compositions down to still-life, Xenia and Arabesque. See Vitruv. vii. 5. Zahn, Gell, Mazois, Goro, the *Mus. Borb.*, give most interesting evidence upon the subject. They painted less frequently on wet mortar, *al fresco*, (*udo illinere colores*, Plin. xxxv. 7, 31; *colores udo tectorio inducere*, Vitr. vii. 3, 7), than on a dry ground in distemper, *a tempera*. See Winkelm. W. v. 197. The ground itself was often *al fresco*.

Ornaments in relief appear also to have been used on the walls; such at least is the interpretation given to Cic. *Att.* i. 10, *Præterea typos tibi mando, quos in tectorio atrioli possim includere*, S. Visconti, *Mus. Pio-Clem.* iv. *Præf.* At a later period the walls and cielings were also inlaid with mosaic. Plin. xxxvi. 25, 64; Stat. *Silv.* i. 5, 42.

The common opinion that the ancients were not in the habit of fixing mirrors against the walls, or that at least the custom was of a late date, requires correction. Hand-mirrors were no doubt used in a general way, and the costliness of the material was sufficient cause, at any rate in more ancient times, for not having mirrors of large dimensions. But where larger ones are spoken of, we must not at once conclude that they are necessarily wall-mirrors. Thus Seneca (*Quest. Nat.* i. 17,) mentions *specula totis corporibus paria*, but he appears to have meant only moveable looking-glasses, with feet, perhaps to allow of their being moved about. It is going too far, entirely to deny

the use of wall-mirrors, and there are some distinct passages which can be adduced in contradiction to this prejudice. When Vitruvius (vii. 3, 10,) says, *ipsaque tectoria abacorum et speculorum circa se prominentes habent expressiones*; this will not be allowed as a proof, because *abacus* is understood to be the square, and *speculum* the round panel, which had a frame-like border, but yet could be regular *tectorium*. It is, however, evident from Pliny (xxxvi. 26, 67,) that these *specula* were composed of plates of different kinds of substances, polished to serve as mirrors. *In genere vitri et obsidiana numerantur, ad similitudinem lapidis, quem in Æthiopia invenit Obsidius, nigerrimi coloris, aliquando et translucidi, crassiore visu, atque in speculis parietum pro imagine umbras reddente.*

Vitruvius also mentions mirrors actually suspended (ix. 9). *Ctesibius enim fuerat Alexandriæ natus patre tonsore: is ingenio et industria magna præter reliquos excellens dictus est artificiosis rebus se delectare. Namque cum voluisset in taberna sui patris speculum ita pendere, ut, cum duceretur sursumque reduceretur, linea latens pondus deduceret, ita collocavit machinationem.* Ulp. Dig. xxxiv. 2, 9, records a *speculum parieti affixum*. Comp. Isid. Orig. xvi. 15; Salm. ad Vopisc. Firm. 694; and respecting the material used for the mirrors, as well as the question, whether the ancients had them of glass or not, see Beckmann, *Beitr. z. Gesch. d. Erfind.* iii. 467.

### THE CIELINGS

were originally composed only of boards laid over the beams, but to give them a more elegant appearance, a grate, as it were, of rafters was constructed, so that sunk panels arose, *lacus, lacunar, laquear*. These *lacunaria* afterwards received a variety of ornament in stucco, and were also inlaid with ivory and gilded, as in the temples. These panels were in process of time covered over, and the cieling painted, specimens of which are given in Zahn, t. 27, 67. Cielings were also made of rushes, and called *camera*, for the construction of which rules are laid down by Vitruv. viii. 3.

The doors have already been discussed. It is not so easy to say any thing with certainty respecting the

## WINDOWS.

If we were to judge by the houses in Pompeii, we must conclude that the houses of the ancients had no windows at all looking into the street, for this is the case there, and when an exception does occur, the window is placed so high, that it is quite impossible either to look in or out, without mounting to a considerable height. Yet it is neither probable in itself, nor reconcileable with the distinct testimony of ancient authors, to suppose that this could have been the case in Rome, and everywhere else. Passages, such as Tibul. ii. 6, 39, *ab excelsa præceps delapsa fenestra*, it is true, demonstrate nothing, as we do not know in what sense he was speaking. Horace, i. 25: *Parcius junctas quatiunt fenestras*, and the beautiful picture in Propertius, iv. 7, 15:

Jamne tibi exciderunt vigilacis furta Suburæ  
Et mea nocturnis trita fenestra dolis?  
Per quam demisso quoties tibi fune pependi,  
Alternâ veniens in tua colla manu,

do not force us to suppose windows looking to the street, although of course there must have been such in the *cænacula* of the *insulæ*, which were several stories high, and could not possibly receive light in any other way. Martial (i. 87) says: *Vicinus meus est, manūque tangi De nostris Novius potest fenestris*, but it is doubtful whether we are to imagine an *angiportus*, or the windows of one house. More definite testimony to the custom in Greece, is found in Aristoph. *Eccles.* 961, where the youth says to the maiden at the window, *καταδραµοῦσα τὰν θύραν ἀνοιξον*. Livy also says (xxiv. 21): *pars procurrit in vias, pars in vestibulis stat, pars ex tectis fenestrisque prospectant, et quid rei sit rogitant*. In the *Mostellaria* of Plautus, iv. 2, 27, where slaves wish to fetch away their master, and Theuropides asks: *quid volunt? quid introspectant?* nobody would suppose that he alluded to crevices in the door, or a key-hole. So also Vitruv. v. 6, *comicæ autem (scenæ) ædificiorum privatorum et menianorum habent speciem, prospectusque fenestris dispositos imitatione communium ædificiorum rationibus*. Juvenal (*Sat.* iii. 270) says of the dangers that were to be feared in the streets of Rome:

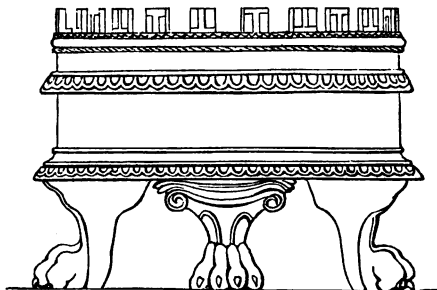
Respice nunc alia ac diversa pericula noctis :  
 Quod spatium tectis sublimibus, unde cerebrum  
 Testa ferit, quoties rimosa et curta fenestris  
 Vasa cadant ! quanto percussum pondere signent  
 Et lædant silicem.

And how are we otherwise to explain the orders of the police, (*Dig. ix. tit. 3*), *de his qui effuderint vel dejecerint*. But we must consider the windows to have been both few in number, and placed high. They had also sometimes grates, *clathri*. Plaut. *Mil. ii. 4, 25*; Winkelm. *W. ii. 250*. Most of the smaller apartments, and those lying around the *cavum ædium*, received only a scanty light through the doors; the larger ones, as already mentioned, through openings in the roof.

In more ancient times, it is possible that the windows were unfastened openings, at the most secured by shutters. At a later period the *lapis specularis* (talc) was much used, and is often alluded to. Plin. *Ep. ii. 17*. *Egregiam hæ (porticus) adversum tempestates receptaculum; nam specularibus ac multo magis tectis imminetibus muniuntur*. The question, whether the ancients had also window-glass, was formerly answered in the negative, but of late there has been no further doubt about the matter, and the windows and panes of glass discovered in Pompeii, are surer evidence than all the testimonies of late writers. See Winkelm. *W. ii. 251*; Gell's *Pompeiana*, i. 99; Jahn's *Jahrb. 1831*, i. 456; Hirt, *Gesch. der Bauk.* iii. 66 (who perhaps goes too far). Comp. the notes on the fifth scene, and the article on *The Baths*.

The ancients resorted to more than one expedient for warming the rooms in winter, although they had no proper stoves. In the first place, the *cubacula* and *triclinia*, in which they lived in winter, were so situated as to have plenty of sun, and this, with the mildness of their climate, partially served their purpose. Besides they had fire-grates, though perhaps not on the same principle as ours. Suet. *Vit. 8*, *nec ante in prætorium rediit, quam flagrante triclinio ex conceptu camini*; Hor. *Sat. i. 5, 81*, *Udos cum foliis ramos urente camino*; Hor. *Epist. i. 11, 19*, *Sextile mense caminus*. In this sense we must also understand *focus* (Hor. *Od. i. 9, 5*) *ligna super foco large reponens*, and in other places. The rooms were warmed by means of pipes, conducted to them from the *hypocaustum*. See Winkelm.

W. ii. 253; or there were near the apartments in occupation, small rooms, heated by a *hypocaustum*, and by means of an opening which could be closed at pleasure, warm air was introduced into the room. Plin. *Ep.* ii. 17. *Applicatum est cubiculo hypocauston perexiguum, quod angusta fenestra suppositum calorem, ut ratio exigit, aut effundit aut retinet.* Ibidem. *Adhæret dormitorium membrum, transitu interjacente, qui suspensus et tubulatus conceptum vaporem salubri temperamento huc illucque digerit et ministrat.* They used coal-tubs—specimens of which have been discovered in Pompeii, and one of which is represented in the following engraving.



Whether the ancients had chimnies or not, is a disputed point. The usual opinion, shared by Beckmann, *Beiträg.* ii. 391; Voss. *ad Virg. Georg.* ii. 242; Heind. *ad Hor. Sat.* i. 5, 81, is, that the smoke was not drawn off by means of a flue, but by openings in the roof, windows, and door, and such passages as Vitruv. viii. 3, 4, *Conclavibus, aut ubi ignis, aut plura lumina sunt ponenda, puræ fieri debent (coronæ) ut eo facilius extergeantur: in æstivis et exedris, ubi minime fumus est nec fuligo potest nocere, ibi cælatæ sunt faciendæ,* seem to favour this view of the question. But Fea *ad Winkelm. W.* ii. 347, after Scamozzi, *dell' Archit.* i. lib. 3, c. 21, has shewn that the use of flues was not unknown to the ancients, and that even real grates have been discovered in the ruins of ancient buildings. *Comp. Mus. Borb.* v. t. 40.

## EXCURSUS II. SCENE II.

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### THE SLAVE FAMILY.

**T**HERE is one view of Roman life of which the moderns can scarcely form any satisfactory idea: we can hardly imagine how the utmost incredible number of servants and attendants, kept in the houses of the rich and noble to wait on a few persons, could find occupation, nor how the extraordinary division and subdivision of labour, was prevented from causing far more trouble and confusion, than it promoted comfort and punctuality. In order to obtain as comprehensive a view of the subject as possible, it will be best not to treat of the individual classes, as opportunities may occur, but to go at once through the whole *familia*, according to its different divisions, and the avocations of their members. We shall, however, only consider the slaves, in reference to their domestic arrangements, position with regard to their master, and occupation, and shall exclude all consideration of the legal part of the subject, as *servitus justa, et injusta, manumissio*, etc.

The Slave-family, considered in this point of view, has been treated of by Pignorius (*De servis et eorum apud veteres ministeriis*), Titus Popma (*De operis servorum*), and Gori, in the explanation of the *Columbarium libertorum et servorum Liviae Augustæ*. All three treatises are to be found in Poleni, *Suppl. ad Græv. thes. antt. Rom.* iii.

As regards the method of acquiring slaves by the master, the general rule laid down (*Inst.* i. 3), *servi aut nascuntur, aut fiunt*, is here applicable, since the master acquired them either by purchase or birth.

They could be bought, either *sub corona* (*captivi, jure belli capti*), Cato in Gellius vii. 4, or from the dealer, *mango, venalicus*, (*venales* being opposed to *merces*; Plaut. *Trin.* ii. 2, 51, *Mercaturamne an venales habuit, ubi rem perdidit?*) who exposed them openly in the slave-market, where they were sold by the *præco*. They were first stripped, and placed on a wooden



scaffold, *catasta*, (see Heyne and Wund. *ad Tibull.* ii. 3, 60), or upon an elevation of stone, (hence *de lapide emtus*, Cic. *in Pis.* 15; Plaut. *Bacch.* iv. 7, 17; Turneb. *Adv.* x. 3), so that every one could see and touch them, *nudare, contrectare*. See Casaub. *ad Pers.* vi. 77; Boettig. *Sab.* ii. 204; Sen. *Ep.* 80. Mart. vi. 66, describes a scene, where the *præco*, as an incentive to purchasers, *bis, terque quaterque, basiavit*, the girl who was for sale. Those who were on sale, bore a tablet on their neck, *titulus*, upon which not only their name and capabilities, but their corporeal blemishes, and any vice they might happen to have, were inscribed. Cic. *de Offic.* iii. 17. *Sed etiam in mancipiorum venditione fraus venditoris omnis excluditur, qui enim scire debuit de sanitate, de fuga, de furtis, præstat edicto ædiliū.* The words of the edict are to be found in Gell. iv. 2. Comp. Hor. *Epist.* ii. 2, 14; Prop. iv. 5, 51, *quorum titulus per barbara colla pependit.* Sen. *Ep.* 47. And the vendor was responsible for the correctness of the account given, *præstabat*; if he declined doing so, the slave was sold *pileatus*. See Gell. vii. 4. The same edict also forbade, *ne venerator pro novitio veniret.* Dig. xxi. 1, 37, 65.

The *mancia viliora* only came into the slave-market, as the most beautiful and expensive were sold in the *tabernæ* by private contract. Thus Mart. ix. 60, says of Mamurra, who went about the *septa*, scrutinized every thing, and bought nothing,

Inspexit molles pueros oculisque comedit,  
Non hos quos primæ prostituere casæ;  
Sed quos arcana servant tabulata catastæ,  
Et quos non populus, nec mea turba videt.

The price of such slaves was sometimes immense; for the maiden sold by the *præco*, six hundred sesterces, (about 4*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.*) were bid; but Horace speaks of *nummorum millibus octo*, (sixty-four pounds); while Martial, i. 59, and xi. 70, mentions, *pueros continens millibus emtos*, (eight hundred pounds), and iii. 62, *centenis quod emis pueros et sæpe ducentis.* Comp. Sen. *Epist.* 27; Gell. xv. 19.

*Vernæ*, seldom *vernaculi*, (Mart. x. 3), were the children resulting from the *contubernium* among the slaves. In some respects they were very valuable, as from having grown up in the family, they became acquainted with all the household

matters, and best calculated for discharging the duties of attendants. Hence Horace (*Epist.* ii. 26,) mentions as a recommendation, *verna ministeriis, ad nutus aptus heriles*. But for the same reason they took many liberties, and their forwardness became a proverb. Mart. i. 42, x. 3; Heind. *ad Hor. Sat.* ii. 6, 66; *vernæ procaces*. Sen. *De prov.* i., *Cogita, filiorum nos modestia delectari vernaculorum licentia*. Comp. also Heyne *ad Tibull.* i. 5, 26, *garrulus verna*. Hence *vernilia dicta* are used for *scurrilia (dicta)*.

There was no difference in the position of a slave who happened to come into a man's possession *hereditate*, or by any other means; and he was always reckoned either with the *enti* or *vernæ*.

The whole body of slaves belonging to one master was divided into the *familia urbana* and *familia rustica*, not simply from their different places of residence, but also on account of their different occupation. Fest. 166. *Urbana familia et rustica, non loco sed genere distinguitur*. Hence the *familia urbana* might accompany the master into the country, and yet not be called *rustica*. Our business at present is chiefly with the *urbana*.

The simplicity of the more ancient times was unacquainted with such a concourse of slaves, (Sen. *De tranq.* 8), and even consuls took the field accompanied by but few. Appul. *Apol.* 430. And of these few, perhaps only one was used for personal attendance on himself, whence are to be explained the names *Caipor*, *Lucipor*, *Marcipor*, *Publipor*, *Quintipor*, *Quinct*. Inst. i. 4, 7. *In servis jam interdicat illud genus, quod ducebatur a domino, unde Marcipores, Publiporesque*. Plin. (xxxiii. 1, 6), when talking of sealing up the cells, says, *Hoc proficere mancipiorum legiones et in domo turba externa ac servorum quoque causa nomenclator adhibendus. Aliter apud antiquos singuli Marcipores Luciporesve dominorum gentiles omnem victum in promiscuo habebant. Obsignare cellas*, however, was an old, though perhaps not a general custom. Plaut. *Cas.* iii. 1, 1. *Obsignate cellas; referte anulum ad me*, where no *cellarius* was kept. Cicero's mother sealed even the empty bottles, (*Div.* xvi. 26), *sicut olim matrem nostram facere memini, quæ lagenas etiam inanes obsignabat, ne dicerentur inanes aliquæ fuisse, quæ*

*furtim essent exsiccatae*. It is different in Plaut. (*Mill.* iii. 2). The old fashioned manner of attendance at a meal is drawn in lively colours by Juv. xi. 145, seq.

Plebeios calices et paucis assibus emtos  
 Porrigit incultus puer, atque a frigore tutus;  
 Non Phryx, aut Lycius, non a mangone petitus  
 Quisquam erit in magno. Cum posces, posce Latine.  
 Idem habitus cunctis, tonsi rectique capilli,  
 Atque hodie tantum propter convivia pexi.

Towards the end of the republic, however, it became very different, and it was then considered reprehensible not to have a slave for every sort of work. Thus Cicero says in his description of the loose household arrangements of Piso, *idem coquus, idem atriensis*; and Horace (*Sat.* i. 3, 12) appears to consider ten slaves the minimum, even for one of restricted means, and (in *Sat.* i. 6, 107,) talks of the ridicule thrown on Tullius the prætor, because he had no more than five slaves to accompany him from the Tiburtine villa to Rome. In subsequent times the numbers mentioned are almost incredible. Thus Pliny (xxxiii. 10,) relates, *C. Cæcilius Claudius Isidorus testamento suo edixit, (A.U. 744), quamvis multa civili bello perdidisset, tamen relinquere servorum quatuor millia centum sedecim*. Still greater numbers are adduced by Wüstemann, (*Pal. d. Scaur.* 228); but the accounts of Petron. 37, surpass every thing; *familia vero, babæ! non me Hercules puto decimam partem esse, quæ herum suum novit*. Trimalchio (47) asks a house-slave; *ex quota decuria es?* he answers; *e qudragesima: (53)*, an *actuarius* reads aloud what has happened during the last few days on the estate of Trimalchio; and among other things, vii. *Kal. Sextiles in prædiò Cumano, quod est Trimalchionis, nati sunt pueri xxx, puellæ xl*. This is no doubt an exaggeration, but only intelligible under the supposition of there really having been extraordinary numbers.

Their number, which was so vast as almost to preclude superintendence, made it necessary that they should be divided into *decuriæ*; but there were several particular classes, which ranked higher or lower according to the functions assigned them. These classes were the *ordinarii*, (with their *vicarii*), *vulgares*, *mediastini*, *quales-quales*; at least they are thus distinguished

by Ulpian, *Dig.* xlvii. 10, 15, *Multum interest, qualis servus sit; bonæ frugi, ordinarius, dispensator, an vero vulgaris, vel mediastinus, an qualisqualis.*

### ORDINARIII

appear to have been those slaves who superintended certain departments of the household; they were placed above the others, and had their own slaves, or *vicarii*. They were consequently persons enjoying the master's special confidence, and entrusted by him with the management of his income and outlay; and they appointed and controlled the rest of the family, both in the house and at the villa. Among these come first the *actores* and *procuratores*, very general terms, and applicable not only to the *familia urbana*, but also to the *rustica*, in which *actor* is about the same as *villicus*. *Colum.* i. 7, *ita fit, ut et actor et familia peccet.* *ib.* 8. *Idemque actori præcipiendum est, ne convictum cum domestico, nullo minus cum extero habeat.* The *procurator* seems to have held a still higher situation, and to have been the regular steward of the property. *Pliny, Ep.* iii. 19, says of the advantageous situation of two country properties, *posse utraque eadem opera, eodem viatico invisere, sub eodem procuratore ac pæne iisdem actoribus.* The *dispensator*, who appears every where as steward and accountant, was probably little different. *Cic. Att.* xi. 1, *nihil scire potui de nostris domesticis rebus, de quibus acerbissime afflictor, quod qui eas dispensavit, neque adest istic, neque ubi terrarum sit scio.* The *dispensator* may possibly have been under the *procurator* in particular instances, but generally himself submitted the accounts to his master's inspection. *Suet. Gall.* xii., *ordinario dispensatori breviarium rationum offerenti.* *Suet. Vesp.* 22, *admonente dispensatore, quemadmodum summam rationibus vellet referri, Vespasiano, inquit, adamato.* So also, (*Cic. Fragm. in Non.* iii. 18), *Quid tu, inquam, soles cum rationem a dispensatore accipis, si æra singula probasti, summam, quæ ex his confecta sit, non probare?* *Comp. Mart.* v. 42.

The *cellarius*, or *promus*, was he who had charge of the *cella penaria* and *vinaria*, and furnished the daily supply, and took charge of whatever remained. *Procur. tor peni*, *Plaut.*

*Pseud.* ii. 2, 13. Hence also, *condus promus*, Plaut. *Capt.* iv. 2, 115.

Sume, posce, prome quidvis; te facio cellarium.

Upon which the Parasite (iv. 3, 1,) says, *mihi rem summam credidit cibariam*. Comp. *Mil.* iii. 2, 11, 24, where mention is made of *suppromus*, who stood in much the same position to the *promus*, as the *amanuensis* did to the *dispensator*. Colum. xi. 1. *Ut cibus et potio sine fraude a cellariis præbeantur*. Perhaps he also gave out the *demensum*, *cibum demensum*, to the *familia*, and attended to the duties attendant upon it. Each slave received a measure of grain, either monthly (*menstrua*), or daily (*diaria cibaria*); this allowance was called *demensum*. Donat. ad Ter. *Phorm.* i. 1, 9. *Servi quaternos modios accipiebant frumenti in mensem, et id demensum dicebatur*. Sen. *Ep.* 80, nevertheless says, *servus est, quinque modios accipit*. Perhaps more was given at one time than at another, and all the slaves did not receive the same quantity. Besides, Seneca speaks of players. We collect from Plaut. *Stich.* i. 2, 2, that this allowance was given out monthly.

Vos meministis quot calendis petere demensum cibum;

Qui minus meministis, quod opus sit facto, facere in adibus?

The joke of the sycophant, who pretended he had been in Olympus, alludes to this. Plaut. *Trin.* iv. 2, 202.

CHARM. Eho, an etiam vidisti Jovem?

SYC. Alii dii isse ad villam aiebant servis depromptum cibum.

An instance occurs in the *Mostell.* (i. 1, 59), of not only the *demensum* for the *familia rustica*, but even the fodder for the cattle being obtained from the city. *Ervom daturine estis, bubus quod feram? Date æs, si non est*. To this Tranio replies, *Ervom tibi aliquis cras faxo ad villam ferat*. That a daily distribution was not unusual, is clear from the expression *diaria*, Mart. xi. 108. *Pueri diaria poscunt*. Hor. *Epist.* i. 14, 40. The custom, however, does not date from the most ancient times, in which the slaves ate at the table of the master.

One of the principal domestics was the *atriensis*, who originally was entrusted with the superintendence of the *atrium*, the *imagines*, and the *supellex*; but in later times, when the work was divided among a greater number of slaves, part of his duties devolved on the *dispensator* and *cellarius*. Thus in the *loci*

*classici*, (Plaut. *Asin.* ii. 4), the *pseudo-saurea*, as *atriensis*, receives and lends money, sells wine and oil, lends plate; in short, superintends the whole household affairs, *cui omnium rerum herus summam credidit*. Hence in *Pseud.* ii. 2, 13, he can be interchanged with the *cellarius* or *promus*.

H. Tunc es Ballio? Ps. Imo vero ego ejus sum Subballio.

H. Quid istuc verbi est? Ps. Condus promus sum, procurator peni.

H. Quasi te dicas *atriensem*. Ps. Imo atrienal ego impero.

Among the *ordinarii* may also be reckoned the *negotiatores*, slaves who conducted money transactions on account of their master, (not *mercatura*. Ernesti, *Clav. s. v. negotiator*). See Obbar. ad Hor. *Ep.* i. 1, 45. That instances of this occurred in later times cannot be denied; but in more remote periods all *quæstus* was considered *indecorus* for the *ordo senatorius*, (See Bekker, *Vind. comæd. Rom.* 74), and the *equites* were themselves the *negotiatores*, and did not employ their slaves for the purpose.

On account of the great number of slaves, who were no doubt sometimes very noisy, it became necessary to have *silentiarii*, who watched over the quiet of the household. Thus Salvian. *de gub. dei*, iv. 3, says: *Servi quippe pavent actores, pavent silentiarios, pavent procuratores; ab omnibus cæduntur*. This was written, it is true, in the fifth century; but Seneca also alludes to them, *Ep.* 47, and several inscriptions appear in Fabretti, 206, n. 54—56, and Orell. n. 2956.

The division of slaves into *decuriæ*, probably rendered necessary an especial *decurio*, who stood at the head of each of them; and we meet with them in the imperial residence, although no instance of them occurs in private houses, and this is not the place for an explanation of the *officia domus Augustæ*. See Orell. *Inscr.* i. 512.

It is probable that the *ordinarii* only were allowed to keep a *vicarius*. (See note 5, page 3). In later times, possibly, slaves of a lower class, if rich, were allowed to have them. See Sen. *Ben.* iii. 28. They were perfectly independent of the master himself. The second class were the

#### VULGARES,

under which name are to be understood, those who had one definite occupation, either in or out of the house, or perhaps the

entire number of those who pursued some handiwork, art, or scientific occupation. To this class belonged, firstly the *ostiarus*. (See note 4, page 2.) Next came the *cubicularii*, who had the supervision of the sitting and sleeping rooms, and probably when the master was at home, waited in the antechamber. In Suet. *Tib.* 21, and *Dom.* 16, they are termed *cubiculo præpositi*. They also announced visitors, Cic. *Verr.* iii. 4. *Hunc vestri janitores, hunc cubicularii diligunt; hunc liberi vestri, hunc servi ancillæque amant, hic cum venit, extra ordinem vocatur, hic solus introducitur, cæteri sæpe frugalissimi homines excluduntur.* From whence it seems clear that visitors were admitted according to the order of their arrival. There were special *servi ab officio admissionum*, in addition to the *cubicularii*, between whom and the *velarii* there would seem to have been but little difference.

The *lecticarii* were the slaves who bore the *lectica*, and when the custom became by degrees more common, they were important functionaries: women were carried in the city, men outside of it, and in the *gestationes*. The strongest and most imposing in appearance were chosen; Syrians, Celts, Germans, and especially Cappadocians. Sometimes six in number, at others eight, *lectica hexaphoros*, or *octaphoros*. The custom is described by Lucian, *Cynic*, 722. For other passages, see Tit. Popma, *de op. serv. in Pol. Thes.* iii. 1366; comp. Lips. *Elect.* i. 19; Boettig. *Sab.* ii. 202. Before the *lectica* went *anteambulones*, in order to clear a road through a crowd. They did not always confine themselves to the customary words, *dare locum domino meo*, but occasionally made room with their elbows and hands, as related by Martial, (iii. 46), who, in order to escape paying continually the *opera togata*, offers to his *rex* his freedman, who might even serve as a *lecticarius* or *anteambulo*. This led sometimes to disagreeable collisions. Pliny relates (*Ep.* iii. 14): *Equus Romanus a servo ejus (Largii Macedonis), ut transitum daret, manu leviter admonitus convertit se, nec servum, a quo erat tactus, sed ipsum Macedonem tam graviter palma percussit, ut pæne concideret.* But this custom was too simple; they went still further. The use of runners or outriders is not peculiar to modern times; the Romans also were fond of this species of display, at least as early as the first century after

Christ, and the *cursores*, and *Numidæ*, who ran and rode in advance of the *rheda*, or *carruca*, are frequently mentioned. Thus Seneca (*Ep.* 87) says: *O quam cuperem illi (Catoni) nunc occurrere aliquem ex his Trossulis in via divitibus, cursores et Numidas et multum ante se pulveris agentem.* Sen. *Ep.* 126. *Omnes jam sic peregrinantur, ut illos Numidarum præcurrat equitatus, ut agmen cursorum antecedit.* Martial (*iii.* 47) says of one who takes with him from the city into the country, the productions of the country: *Nec feriatus ibat ante carrucam, Sed tuta fæno cursor ova portabat,* and of himself, (*xii.* 24), *Non rector Lybici niger caballi, Succinctus neque cursor antecedit.* Such luxury, however, was unheard of in the times of the Republic. How far it went in the time of Gallus, we shall not attempt to determine.

The use of *nomenclatores*, was of more ancient date. In the times of the Republic, those who desired to attain to high offices, were obliged to observe many little attentions, not only to people of distinction, but also towards the common citizens. Their houses were open to the visits of every body, and when they were out of doors, they were expected to remember all their names, and to say something agreeable to them. As it was impossible to recall at a moment the name and circumstances of each one, there were slaves, whose duty consisted in remembering the names of those whom they met, and informing their master. Cic. *Att.* iv. 1: *ad urbem ita veni, ut nemo ullius ordinis homo nomenclatori notus fuerit, qui mihi obviam non venerit.* Their memory became a proverb. In houses where the *salutatio* was numerous, a *nomenclator* was requisite. Sen. *Epist.* 19: *habebas convivas, quos e turba salutantium nomenclator digesserit.* The *nomenclator* had another function to discharge (Petron. c. 47, and Plin. xxxii. 6, 21), viz. that of informing the guests what dishes were served up, and making known their several excellencies. Comp. Hor. *Sat.* ii. 8, 25, with Heindorf's remarks.

Even when they went abroad without any pomp, one or more slaves were always in attendance, hence named *pedisequi*, who, as we learn from several inscriptions, were a particular class, and every slave who followed the master, was not called by this name. S. Gori, *de Columb. Liv. Aug.*; Corn. Nep. *Att.* 13.



*Namque in ea (familia) erant pueri literatissimi, anagnostæ optimi et plurimi librarii, ut ne pedisequus quidem quisquam esset, qui non utrumque horum pulchre facere posset.* That fashion required the attendance of slaves, and exempted the masters from the performance of even the most trifling exertions, we see from Martial ix. 60, 22, *asse duos calices emit et ipse tulit.*

We must here make mention of the *capsarii*, which has a variety of significations, as *capsa* itself is also used in various senses. I. They who took care of the clothes of the bathers, and placed them in the *capsa*, as thieving was nowhere more prevalent than at the bath. See the commentators on Petron. 30, *Burm.* II. The slaves who followed the children to school, and carried in a *capsa* the articles required there. Juven. x. 117: *Quem sequitur custos angustæ vermulæ capsæ.* They are mentioned frequently in connection with the *pædagogi*. Suet. Ner. 36: *Constat quosdam cum pædagogis et capsariis uno prandio necatos.* III. The slaves who carried after their masters the *scrinium* (*capsa*, Cic. Div. in Cæc. 16), in which sense they were perhaps equivalent to the *scriniarii*, of whom mention is so frequently made in inscriptions, although under this appellation may also be understood those who were *custodes scriniorum*.

The *adversitores* were not a particular class of slaves. The master, on arriving at his destination, for instance at the house another, dismissed the *pedisequi*, with orders to return and escort him back. There is a clear passage in Plaut. *Mostell.* i. 4, 1, where Callidamatas visits Philolaches, and says to the slaves who had accompanied him, *Advorsum veniri mihi ad Philolachetem volo tempori*; hence, Phaniscus (who is on this account mentioned in the catalogue of the characters by the name of *adversitor*, which does not occur elsewhere) says, iv. 1, 24: *Nunc eo advorsum hero ex plurimis servis.* Comp. *Menæch.* ii. 3, 82; *Ter. Adr.* i. 1, 2. There appears to be no more mention of the custom after Terence, but, in later times, the slaves were retained in the house of the acquaintance, particularly at the *cæna*, when they took charge of their master's clothes and *soleæ*, and stood behind him. Hence the expression, *a pedibus pueri*. The custom is clear; Martial, xii. 88,

Bis Cotta soleas perdidisse se questus,  
Dum negligentem ducit ad pedes vernam,

and other passages ; and Seneca, *Benef.* iii. 26, 27, where two instances are to be found, first, that of Paulus, who *matellæ admoverat*, the head of Tiberius, which he wore as a *cameo* in a ring. This was a sufficient offence for the *vestigator* Maro to found an accusation on ; but the slave of Paulus had perceived his intent, and drew the ring from the finger of his master (*servus ejus, cui nectebantur insidiæ, ei ebrio anulum extraxit*) : and secondly, the case of a *vir ordinis senatorii*, who had spoken against Augustus ; *Ut primum diluxit, servus qui cœnanti ad pedes steterat, narrat, quæ inter cœnam ebrius dixisset*. We cannot infer from Cic. *in Pis.* 9, where the name occurs, that they had regular *laternarii* ; but it is evident that slaves preceded them with torches or lanthorns as they went home. See Val. Max. vi. 8, 1 ; Juven. iii. 285 ; Petron. 79.

We have still to mention as slaves, used out of doors, the *salutigeruli pueri* of Plaut. *Aul.* iii. 5, 26, or *nuncii, renuncii*, Plaut. *Trin.* ii. 1, 22, something like errand-boys ; and the *tabellarii*, of whom more will be said in the account of *The Letter*.

The names of the remaining *vulgares*, who had fixed household occupations, either explain their own meaning, or will partly be described in the account of the various parts of the household to which they belonged. Among these were all those who provided for the wants of the table, as *pistores, coqui, fartores, placentarii, tricliniarii*, with the *tricliniarcha, structores, carpatores* and *scissores, a cyatho, or a potione*, and so on ; or for clothes and ornaments, as *vestiarii, vestifici, pœnularii, a veste*, and *ad vestem*, also *vestispici, vestiplici, ab ornamentis, custodes auri, ornatrices, cosmetæ, tonsores, ad unguenta*, and others.

### MEDIASTINI.

In the fragment of Ulpian, quoted before, they are connected with the *vulgares* by a *vel*, and not opposed to them by an *an* ; and the question is, how far they were different from them ? They occur most frequently in the *familia rustica*. Cic. *Cat.* ii. 3, *exercitus collectus ex rusticis mediastinis* ; Colum. ii. 13, *posse agrum ducentorum jugerum subigi duobus jugis boum, totidemque bubulcis et sex mediastinis* ; id. i. 9, *separandi sunt*

*vinitores ab aratoribus, iique a mediastinis.* But are also to be found in the *familia urbana*. Dig. vii. 7, 6, and iv. 9, 1, where he says, *Cæterum si quis opera mediastini fungitur, non continetur* (edicto,) *ut puta atriarum, focarii, et his similes.* Whence it appears that we must generally understand by *mediastini* such slaves as were used for all sorts of common work, in the *rustica* as day-labourers, in the *urbana* as inferior house-slaves. They also appear to be alluded to in Cic. *Par.* v. 2, *Sed ut in familia qui tractant ista, qui tergunt, qui ungunt, qui verrunt, qui spargunt, non honestissimum locum servitutis tenent,* etc. The etymology given by Acro, and the Scholiast of Cruquius, on Hor. *Epist.* i. 14, 14, *qui in medio stat ad quævis imperata paratus,* appears not unsuitable, if not correct; while the second etymology, *in media urbe (δορεῖ) viventes,* is absurd. Priscian confines the name to the *balneatores*, who as being of the lowest class of slaves, might possibly have belonged to them. Nonius, ii. 573, more correctly observes, that they are *ædium quoque ministri.*

There were also others in the *familia*, who worked in the capacity of artizans, especially in the country-houses, and were used for scientific purposes, or, as artists, ministered to the pleasures of their master. It appears scarcely proper to place them in the same position as the *vulgares*. Cicero, (*Par.* v. 2), says, *Ut in magna (stultorum) familia sunt alii lautiores, ut sibi videntur, servi, sed tamen servi, atriensis ac topiarii,* etc.

Of these we may first mention the

#### MEDICI, CHIRURGI, IATRALIPTÆ.

It was only at a late period that the study of medicine attained to distinction in Rome, and then it was almost exclusively practised by foreigners. Pliny, (xxix. 1, 6), relates, that according to the account of Cassius Hemina, the first Grecian physician, Archagathus, arrived in Rome from the Peloponnesus, in the year of the city 535. The astonishment which the art at first excited, was soon changed into distrust, and in some cases into aversion. Cato earnestly warned his son against the Greek physicians and the study of medicine; no doubt many unprincipled acts were committed by them, and a considerable degree

of charlatanry, at least, can be laid to their charge. We cannot therefore wonder that Plautus scourges them with jokes of no very delicate kind. *Menæchm.* v. 3—5. One has only to read the following scene to be convinced that the physician in this play has been the original of all the pedantic *médicins* and *charlatans* of Molière. Athenæus, xv. 666. Even in the time of Pliny, the Romans themselves attended but little to the art, though it was, as he testifies, very profitable; but it was perhaps for that reason lowered in the estimation of the old Romans. *Non rem antiqui damnabant, sed artem. Maxime vero quæstum esse immani pretio vitæ, recusabant.* Pliny gives an interesting account of the relation in which the patient stood to the physician, which may be well applied to our own times. He says, after remarking that the Romans did not follow the science with so much advantage, *Immo vero auctoritas aliter quam Græce eam tractantibus, etiam apud imperitos expertesque linguæ non est. Ac minus credunt, quæ ad salutem suam pertinent, si intelligunt. Itaque in hac artium sola evenit, ut cuicumque medicum se professo statim credatur. Nulla præterea lex est, quæ puniat incitiam, capitale nullum exemplum vindictæ. Discunt periculis nostris et experimenta per mortes agunt, medicoque tantum hominem occidisse impunitas summa est.* As the professional physicians were not always looked upon with the most favourable eyes, the Romans used to employ trustworthy slaves, or freedmen, as house physicians; and careful fathers of families also collected recipes of the best means to be adopted in particular cases. Thus Cato had a kind of recipe-book, *commentarium, quo mederetur filio, servis, familiaribus.* These slaves were called *medici*, and *medicæ* even are mentioned in inscriptions. Surgery, as well as physic, was practised by the *medici*, as we may see from passages in Plautus; but it is possible that others were specially employed in this department, and hence called *vulnerum medici, vulnerarii*. In inscriptions of the time of Tiberius, regular *chirurgi* occur; and Celsus, (lib. vii.), gives as the qualities requisite, middle age, a steady hand, good eye, &c. About this time, physic generally began to be divided into different branches; doctors for diseases of the eye, (*ocularii*, or *medici ab oculis*), as well as dentists, and others skilled in the treatment of any particular local disorder, are particularly mentioned. Mart. x. 56.

The *iatraliptæ* were probably at first doctors' assistants, who took care of the embrocations; but in later times they appear to have formed a distinct class of medical men. See Plin. xxix. 1, 2. The younger Pliny says, (*Ep.* x. 4), *Proximo anno, domine, gravissima valetudine ad periculum vitæ vexatus iatralipten assumsi.* Respecting the *tabernæ medicorum*, or *medicinæ* (as *tonstrinæ*), see Heind. *ad Horat. Sat.* i. 7, 3.

A second important class of well educated slaves were the

### LITERATI;

slaves of whose literary acquirements and knowledge the master made use for his own purposes. The general meaning of the word is given by Suet. *de ill. Gramm.* 4. *Appellatio Grammaticorum Græca consuetudine invaluit; sed initio literati vocabantur.* He then gives the distinction between *litteratus* and *literator*, referring us to Orbilius: *nam apud majores, cum familia alicujus venalis produceretur, non temere quem litteratum in titulo, sed literatorum inscribi solitum esse; quasi non perfectum literis, sed imbutum.* Previously, however, he gives the explanation of Cornelius Nepos (which differs from the above). *Cornelius quoque Nepos in libello, quo distinguit litteratum ab erudito, litteratos quidem vulgo appellari ait eos, qui aliquid diligenter et acute scienterque possint aut dicere aut scribere, cæterum proprie sic appellandos poetarum interpretes, qui a Græcis γραμματικοί nominentur; eosdem litteratores vocitatos.* The explanation of Orbilius is more appropriate for the *servi literati*.

In the first place they were used as

### ANAGNOSTÆ,

also called *lectores*, readers. Literary men used, when at their meals, or not in any other manner mentally occupied, and even in the baths, to have persons to read to them. Thus the younger Pliny relates of his uncle, (*Ep.* iii. 5), *Super cœnam liber legebatur, adnotabatur, et quidem cursim. Memini quendam ex amicis, quum lector quædam perperam pronunciasset, revocasse et repeti coegisse, etc.* But then: *In recessu sohum*

*balinei tempus studiis eximebatur. Quum dico balinei, de interioribus loquor; nam dum distringitur tergiturque, audiebat aliquid, aut dictabat.* The same person says of himself, (ix. 36), *Cœnanti mihi, si cum uxore, vel paucis, liber legitur;* and Cornelius Nepos relates of Atticus, (c. 14), *Nemo in convivio ejus aliud ἀκρόαμα audivit, quam anagnosten. Neque unquam sine aliqua lectione apud eum cœnatum est.* Martial frequently alludes to this habit, and sometimes with complaints; for several persons only invited him to their tables to read to him their bad comedies, iii. 50. Augustus, when unable to sleep, used to send for *lectores*, or *confabulatores*. Suet. *Aug.* 78.

All the

### LIBRARIJ

belong to this class. They were slaves used for writing, hence also called *scribæ*, but perfectly distinct from the *scribæ publici*, who were *liberi*, and formed a separate *ordo*; and also from the *bibliopolæ*, also called *librarii*. Comp. Eschenbach, *de scribis vett. in Pol. thes.* t. iii; Ernesti, *Clav. Cic.* The *librarii* again were called, according to the use they were put to, *ab epistolis; a studiis; a bibliotheca; notarii*.

Along with the *litterati* it will be best to take the *servi a status*, (Gori, *Columb. Liv. Aug.* 178), and a *pinacotheca* (Orell. n. 2417), and the whole class of artists, as, *architecti, pictores, cælatores, plumarii*, (see note 15, page 9); names which express their own meaning. The gardeners also belong to this class; *ab hortorum cultura, topiarii, viridarii*, and the *aquarii*: respecting whom, see the article on *The Gardens*.

We now come to those who (frequently in no honourable manner) served for amusement; for instance, at meals, when the business of the day was at an end, and every thing was brought together that could serve for recreation. Of course, in the earlier times, such pleasures were unknown, and it was only after the war with Antiochus, (when the former simplicity yielded generally to Asiatic luxury), that the enjoyment of the repast began to be heightened, not only by refinement in cookery, but also by all manner of shows and ἀκρόαματα, by artists hired for the occasion, or even kept among the regular retainers

of the family. Livy, xxxix. 6. Of this kind were the *symphoniaci*, the corps of household musicians, the frequent mention of whom shows their general use. Cic. *Mil.* 21. *Milo, qui nunquam, tum casu pueros symphoniacos uxoris ducebat et ancillarum greges.* Petr. c. 33, 47, and Senec. *Ep.* 54, in *commissationibus nostris plus cantorum est, quam in theatris olim spectatorum fuit.* This is what the *aliud ἀκρόαμα* alludes to, in the above mentioned passage of Cornelius Nepos. See note 18, page 12.

To these were added, in later times, *ludiones, mimi, funambuli*, or *schænobatæ, petauristæ, saltatrices, gladiatores*, and such like; all of whom are found (with one example) in the house of Trimalchio. They require no explanation; but on account of the *petauristæ*, we may quote Petron. 53: *Petauristarum tandem venerunt: baro insulsissimus cum scalis constitit, puerumque jussit per gradus et in summa parte odaria saltare; circulos deinde ardentes transire et dentibus amphoram sustinere.* These were such arts as are practised by our mountebanks. Mart. v. 12. Linus, who let seven or eight boys stand on his arms. Comp. Ter. *Hecyr. Prolog.* i. ii. 26. Beckmann, *Beitr. d. Erfind.* iv. 64.

The taste for the deformed and idiotic *moriones, fatui*, and *fatua*, was still more strange. The *moriones* were perhaps originally regular Cretins, at least the term comprehends not only absurdity but deformity, and Mart. vi. 39, describes one; *acuto capite et auribus longis, quæ sic moventur, ut solent asellorum.* But their absurdity was the chief point; and the stupider they were, the more valuable, as affording most opportunity for laughter. Mart. xiii. 13, says,

Morio dictus erat: viginti milibus emi,  
Redde mihi nummos, Gargiliane: sapit.

Comp. xiv. 210. Even in Seneca's house there was no lack of them, *Ep.* 50. *Harpasten, uxoris meæ fatuam scis hereditarium onus in domo mea remansisse, ipse enim aversissimus ab istis prodigiis sum, si quando fatuo delectari volo, non est mihi longe quærendum: me rideo.* Pretty much on a par with those were the *nani* and *nanæ*, also *pumiliones*, only that they belonged as rarities to the number of state-slaves. Suet. *Tib.* 61; Broukh. *ad Propert.* iv. 8, 48. We must also reckon here the

*Comp. Ep. 50. Harpasten, uxoris meæ fatuam scis hereditarium onus in domo mea remansisse, ipse enim aversissimus ab istis prodigiis sum, si quando fatuo delectari volo, non est mihi longe quærendum: me rideo.*

*Græculi*, or Greek house-philosophers, if the usage of which Boettiger speaks, *Sab.* ii. 36, be based on good ground, as in that case they would nearly represent the *Parasitæ*.

The last class of slaves that remain to be described are the

### QUALES-QUALES,

who appear to be mentioned under this name only in the passage of Ulpian, before-quoted. The especial distinctions: *utrum ordinarius—an vulgaris vel mediastinus—an qualis-qualis*, will not allow of our understanding thereby every slave that we think proper. Perhaps it was a kind of penal class; *qualiquali conditione viventes*, but did not include those who were compelled to labour as *vincti, compediti*, in the *pistrinæ, lapicidinæ, ergastula*, or *ruri*, for these are named immediately afterwards, and the *ergastula* are opposed to the rest of the family. Appul. *Apol.* 504. B. *Quindecim liberi homines populus est; totidem servi familia; totidem vincti ergastulum.* Comp. Lips. *El.* ii. 15.

Chief among the *ancillæ*, or *servæ*, are the *ornatrices*, who were employed about the apparel or ornaments, or in the toilette of their mistress, but their peculiar services will be explained in the article on the female dress, and Boettiger has already gone deep into the subject. We must just observe, however, in contradiction to his statement (i. 22.) that neither the *cosmetæ*, (144) nor the *ciniflones*, were female slaves. Comp. Heindorf. *ad Horat. Sat.* i. 2, 98.

### POSITION AND TREATMENT OF THE SLAVES.

The general notion of the ancients respecting slaves was, that they were entirely the property of their masters, who might make any use they thought fit of them, dispose of them according to their pleasure, and, if they chose, kill them. Gai. *Inst.* i. 52, *apud omnes peræque gentes animadvertere possumus, dominis in servos vitæ necisque potestatem esse, et quodcumque per servum acquiritur, id domino acquiritur.* They were looked upon in the light of pieces of goods, and tyrannical masters had serious doubts whether they should be considered as human



beings at all. The conflict between more rational views and this tyrannical arbitrariness is well described by Juvenal vi. 218 seq.

Pone crucem servo.—Meruit quo crimine servus  
Supplicium? quis testis adest? quis detulit? audi,  
Nulla unquam de morte hominis cunctatio longa est.  
O demens! ita servus homo est? nil fecerit, esto:  
Hoc volo; sic jubeo; sit pro ratione voluntas.

Not less significant is the assurance of Trimalchio (himself a slave) to his guests, in Petron. 71: *Amici, et servi homines sunt, et æque unum lactem biberunt*. And although the slave in immediate attendance on the master is called his *homo*, as in Cic. *p. Quinct.* 19, and often in Plautus, still this has nothing to do with his rights as a man. When therefore Sen. *de Clem.* i. 18, says, *cum in servum omnia liceant, est aliquid, quod in hominem licere commune jus vetet*; this is an appeal to reason and feeling, but does not prove the existence of such a relation, which on the contrary, was in later times first created by laws protecting the slave. No doubt the law in its strict interpretation was exercised differently, at different times, and in different *familiæ*; and its severity alleviated both by conscientious feelings on the part of the master, and by the usefulness of the slave; but it gave the hard master an opportunity of being cruel with impunity. Hence the description of Petrus Chrysologus, *Serm.* 141, is certainly true; *Quidquid dominus indebite, iracunde, libens, nolens, oblitus, cogitans, sciens, nescius circa servum fecerit, judicium, justitia, lex est*. In more ancient times, when the whole family, which consisted only of a few house-slaves, lived in closer bonds of union, more intimate familiarity did arise in spite of the strictness of the law. The whole family ate in common. Plut. *Coriol.* 24. Still the slaves never reclined in company with the rest at table; but there were *subsellia*, benches, placed at the foot of the *lecti*, upon which they sat with the children, and persons of the lower degree. The parasites also contented themselves with this place, Plaut. *Capt.* iii. 1, 11: *Nil morantur jam Laconas imi subsellii viros Plagipatidas*. Plaut. *Stich.* iii. 32: *Haud postulo equidem me in lecto accumbere. Scis tu me esse imi subsellii virum*. Comp. v. 4, 21. Hence also Terence at the

table of Cæcilius, *Vit. Terent. Ad cœnantem cum venisset, dictus est initium quidem fabulæ, quod erat contemptiore vestitu subsellio juxta lectulum residens legisse, post paucos vero versus invitatus ut accumberet, cœnasse una.* There too sat the children of Claudius at the imperial table; *Suet. Claud. 32: Adhibebat omni cœnæ et liberos suos cum pueris puellisque nobilibus, qui more veteri ad fulcra lectorum sedentes vescerentur.* The *subsellia* are distinctly assigned as places for the slaves by *Sen. de Tranquill. ii. 15: Non accipiet sapiens contumeliam, si in convivio regis recumbere infra mensam, vesque cum servis ignominiosa officia sortitis jubebitur.*

The principle *quodcunque per servum acquiritur id domino acquiritur*, was not strictly adhered to, and the slave could earn his *peculium*, chiefly by saving from his allowance. This is clear from *Terent. Phorm. i. 1, 9:*

Quod ille unciatim vix de demenso suo  
Suum defraudans genium comparsit miser,  
Id illa universum abripiet, haut existumans,  
Quanto labore partum.

besides which the similar passage, *Senec. Ep. 80: Peculium suum, quod comparaverunt ventre fraudato, pro capite numerant.* *Comp. Rein, R. Pr. 269.* The master does not appear to have had any right over these savings; and in *Plautus* he lays no claim to what the slaves may have found, or pretended to have found, as in the *Rudens* and the *Aulularia*, and with which the slave wishes to purchase his freedom. There were often very rich slaves. See *Senec. de Benef. iii. 28*, and *Petron.* in the house of *Trimalchio*.

The punishments for the offences of slaves were very numerous, and became more severe from the increase in their numbers, and the greater difficulty in superintending them, as they became more and more strangers to the master. We shudder to read the accounts of the treatment they received, often for very trivial misdemeanours; but must not overlook the fact, that they had become systematically demoralized and vitiated for a course of several centuries, and that they composed a class far superior in number to the freemen, of excessive cunning and audacity, and could only be kept in order by the most extreme severity. The milder punishments were, degrading out of the

*familia urbana* into the *rustica*, where they often had to work *catenati* and *compediti*. Plaut. *Most.* i. 1, 17.

Geta says, Terent. *Phorm.* ii. 1, 17. with comic resignation,

O Phædria, incredibile quantum herum anteeo sapientia.

Meditata mihi sunt omnia mea incommoda, herus si redierit:

Molendum est in pistrino, vapulandum, habendum compedes,

Opus ruri factundum, horum nihil quidquam accidet animo novum.

This is the *vincti compede fossores*. Ovid. *Trist.* iv. 1, 5. Beating was frequent, at one time with *fustes*, or *virgæ (ulmæ)*; hence *facere aliquem ulmeum*. Plaut. *Asin.* ii. 2, 96, *ulmitriba*. Pers. ii. 4, 7, *ulmorum Acheruns* (i. e. in cujus tergo moriuntur ulmæ); Amph. iv. 2, 9; or with *lora*: hence in Plautus regular *lorarii*: also with *habenæ*, Hor. *Epist.* ii. 2, 15. Libanus Plaut. *Asin.* i. 1, 21, names the *pistrinum*, the treadmill, where the slaves under punishment had generally to undergo some hard labour: *fustitudines, ferricrepinas insulas, ubi vivos homines mortui incursant boves*. Hence arose the nicknames *verbero*, or *verbereum caput*. Pers. ii. 2, 2, *verberea statua*; *Capt.* v. 1, 31; *Pseud.* iv. 1, 7; and the very common one *mastigia*. This punishment was of such every day occurrence, that many did not fear it, and even joked at it. Thus Chrysalus says, *Bacchid.* ii. 3, 131, *si illo sunt virgæ ruri, at mihi est tergum domi*. So Libanus, *Asin.* ii. 2, 53:

Habeo opinor familiarem tergum, ne quæram foris.

This *virtus* and *firmitudo animi*, is very humorously described, *Asin.* iii. 2, 3; where a multitude of other punishments are enumerated.

Scapularum confidentia, virtute ulmorum (?) freti,

Advorsum stimulos, laminas, crucesque compedesque,

Nervos, catenas, carceres, nuphellas, pedicas, bo<sup>2</sup>as,

Indoctoresque acerrimos, gnarōsque nostri tergi.

Plautus makes us acquainted with slave-life on every side.

The more severe punishments were, branding, executed upon the *fugitivi* and *fures*. Letters were burnt in on the forehead, to mark the crime, and those who were thus branded were termed *literati*. Plaut. *Cas.* ii. 6, 49, and perhaps alluded to also in *Aul.* ii. 4, 46; *trium literarum homo* (fur) or *stigmosi*, Petr. 109; *stigmata*, is the proper expression for these marks. Also *notati, inscripti*, Mart. viii. 75, 2; Senec. *de Ira*

iii. 3; Plin. xviii. 3, 4. Whether this mark was a single F, or more, is doubtful; nothing can be decided from Petronius, 103. The latter appears more probable, as there would otherwise be no distinction between *fur* and *fugitivus*, although it is true that Cic. *p. Rosc. Am.* 20, says of the mark for the *calumniatores*, *literam illam, cui vos usque eo inimici estis, ut etiam omnes calendas oderitis, ita vehementer ad caput affigent*, etc. The *stigmata* remained visible for life, and many who afterwards became free and rich, tried to hide them with plaisters, *spleniis*, Mart. ii. 29. Martial mentions a Doctor, Eros, who knew how to efface the traces of former branding, x. 56, 6.

Another of their severer punishments was hanging up by the hands, with weights attached to the feet, whilst they received blows at the same time. Plaut. *Asin.* ii. 2, 31. Hence frequently, *pendere*, and *ferire pendentem*. A very frequent punishment was carrying the *furca*, but in earlier times it was only meant as a mark of ignominy. Plut. *Cor.* 24. The *furca* was much of the form of a V, and was placed over the back of the neck upon the shoulders, whilst the hands were bound fast to their thighs. When we read in Plautus, (*Cas.* ii. 6, 37), *tu quidem hodie canem et furcam feras*, we must understand by *canis* a chain; an expression probably originating in a play upon the word *catella* (from *catena*), and *catellus*. See *Curcul.* v. 3, 13: *Delicatum te hodie faciam, cum catello ut accubes*; *Ferreo ego dico. Patibulum*, probably means the same as *furca*. Perhaps it had the form of a II. Plaut. *Mil.* ii. 4, 7: *Credo tibi esse eundem actutum extra portam dispessis manibus patibulum cum habebis*. Mostell. i. 1, 52: *Ita te forabunt patibulatum per vias stimulis*. *Carnifices* went behind, and beat or goaded the culprit. Death by crucifixion was not uncommon. Plaut. *Mil.* ii. 4, 19;

Noli minitari; scio crucem futuram mihi sepulcrum

Ibi mei majores sunt siti; pater, avos, proavos, abavos.

Comp. Lips. *de cruce*. Extra-cruel punishments,—as hacking off the hand, (see Bekker's *Antiq. Plaut.* 11), or throwing the culprits to be devoured by the *Murænæ*, (see Rein, *R. Pr.* 268), were exceptions. The greatest hardship slaves had to endure was, that very frequently, for trivial errors, or from mere caprice, they were subjected to the most refined maltreatment. The

ladies were particularly distinguished in this accomplishment ; indeed their maids who dressed them, seldom escaped from the toilet without being beaten, scratched, and torn or pricked with needles. See Ovid. *Am.* i. 14, 13 ; *Art.* iii. 235 ; *Mart.* ii. 66 ; *Juven.* vi. 491 ; *Boettig. Sab.* 1, 310, 323.

But when treated in this manner, the master had everything to fear from the vengeance of the slaves ; and the truth of Ovid's saying (*Met.* xvi. 489), *sors ubi pessima rerum, sub pedibus timor est*, was frequently exemplified. Pliny relates an instance of such revenge, *Ep.* iii. 14 : *Rem atrocem Largius Macedo, vir prætorius, a servis suis passus est, superbus alioqui dominus et sævus, et qui servisse patrem suum parum, immo minimum meminisset. Lavabatur in Villa Formiana, repente eum servi circumstant ; alius fauces invadit, alius os verberat, alius pectus et ventrem, atque etiam, (fædum dictu) verenda contundit, et quum exanimem putarent, abjiciunt in fervens pavimentum, ut experirentur, an viveret.* The wretch lived long enough to have what Pliny himself calls the *solatium ultionis*. On the other hand, instances are not wanting of the truest attachment, and noble self-sacrifice for the master : in the horrors of the civil wars for instance ; and Valerius Maximus has, in a particular chapter, (vi. 8), rescued various incidents of this description from oblivion.

We may conclude these remarks on the Slave-family by alluding to the peculiar relation which arose, after the last days of the Republic, through the lascivious love of beautiful slaves, who became degraded into an instrument of brutal lust on the one hand, and obtained a considerable power over the lord, and influence in the household, on the other. Whoever wishes to have a more intimate acquaintance with the dark side of slave-life, will, in the pages of Martial and Juvenal, and elsewhere, find sufficient proof of the depravity of the age.

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## EXCURSUS I. SCENE III.

### THE LIBRARY.

THAT an extensive library should be found in the house of a learned and celebrated Roman poet, appears quite natural, and we should miss it, if it were not there; but it would be incorrect to argue from the presence of a costly library, the literary tastes of its owner. What in the earlier periods of Roman history was the want merely of a few individuals, who cultivated, or patronized literature, became by degrees an article of luxury and fashion. The more ignorant a man really was, the more learned he wished to appear, and it was considered *ton* to possess a rich library, even though its owner never took up a Greek poet or philosopher, perhaps never advanced even to read over the titles on the rolls, contenting himself, at the utmost, with enjoying the neatness of their exterior. Seneca *de Tranq. An.* 9, earnestly rebukes this rage of heaping together a quantity of books in a library: *quarum dominus vix tota vita sua indices perlegit.* He ridicules those *quibus voluminum suorum frontes maxime placent titulique*; and concludes: *jam enim inter balnearia et thermas bibliotheca quoque ut necessarium domus ornamentum expolitur. Ignoscerem plane, si e studiorum nimia cupidine oriretur; nunc ista exquisita et cum imaginibus suis descripta sacrorum opera ingeniorum in speciem et cultum parietum comparantur.* Lucian also found himself called upon to scourge sharply this folly, in a particular treatise: *Πρὸς ἀπαιδευτον καὶ πολλὰ βιβλία ὀνούμενον*; and very justly addresses to the object of his satire the proverbs: *πίθηκος ὁ πίθηκος κἂν χρύσεια ἔχῃ σύμβολα*; and, *ὄνος λύρας ἀκούεις κινῶν τὰ ὦτα.* Comp. Mart. v. 51. Cicero, Atticus, Horace, (*Epist.* i. 18, 109), the elder and younger Pliny naturally made a very different use of their libraries, and the same may be presumed of Gallus. That a library was in his time a necessary article of furniture, may be inferred from Vitruvius, who describes it in the same manner as other parts of the house. According to him a library should look towards the east, for a two-fold reason (vi. 7). *Cubicula et Bibliothecæ ad orientem spectare debent; usus enim mutu-*

*tinum postulat lumen: item in bibliothecis libri non putrescent.* We are enabled to form a better judgment on its further arrangements by the excavations in Herculaneum, which have led to the discovery of an ancient library with its rolls. Around the walls of this room were cupboards, not much above the height of a man, in which the rolls were kept. A row of cupboards stood in the centre of the room, dividing it into two parts, so that passages for walking only remained on the sides. It served, therefore solely for the preservation of books, and not for using them on the spot, and as a small room could contain a considerable number of rolls, the ancient libraries do not appear to have been in general very spacious. That discovered in Herculaneum was so small, that a man could, by extending his arms, almost touch the walls on either side. See Winkelm. *Ann. z. Gesch. der Bauk.* W. i. 401; *Briefe an Bianconi* I. W. ii. 227; Martorelli, *de regia theca calamararia*, i. xl.

The occasional observations of ancient writers correspond very well with the results of the discovery thus made. Vitruvius (viii. *Præf.* 7) says of Aristophanes, who wished to detect plagiarisms; *e certis armariis infinita volumina eduxit.* Vopisc. *Tacit.* 8, *habet bibliotheca Ulpia in armario sexto librum elephantinum*, etc.; and also in Pliny ii. 17: *Pietati (cubiculi) in bibliothecæ speciem armarium insertum est, quod non legendos libros, sed lectitandos capit.* Here then it was a wall-cupboard. Whether these cupboards were provided with doors, and could be locked, like the other in which money and so on was deposited, we cannot determine. Seneca (*Tranq.* ix.) speaks generally not of *armaria*, but of *tecto tenui exstructa loculamenta*, which can also be understood of merely open repositories. The assertion that these *armaria* were also called *scrinia*, is, however, erroneous. Respecting the *scrinia*, see note 4, page 38. On the other hand, Juven. iii. 219, uses for them the expression *foruli*, which may however mean simply moveable depositories. Martial very significantly calls them, *nidi* (i. 118, 15; vii. 17, 5); and the comparison with a *columbarium* was certainly very obvious.

After Asinius Pollio had placed in the public library which he founded, the pictures or busts of illustrious men, the example began to be followed in private libraries. Plin. xxxv. 2; Suet. *Tib.* 70. An interesting proof of this is to be found in

Martial, (ix.), where, in the first epigram, the poet sends the inscription for his portrait to Avitus, who was desirous of placing it in his library. Then, in an epistle to Turanius, we read: *Epigramma quod extra ordinem paginarum est, ad Stertinium, clarissimum virum, scripsimus, qui imaginem meam ponere in bibliotheca sua voluit.* So also in the library which Hadrian founded at Athens. Paus. i. 18, 19. (οικήματα) ἀγάλμασι κεκοσμημένα καὶ γραφαῖς· κατέκειται δ' ἐς αὐτὰ βιβλία. They not only desired to exhibit the portraits of contemporaries, but as Pliny says; *quin immo etiam, quæ non sunt, finguntur pariuntque desideria non traditos vultus, sicut in Homero evenit.* Statues also of the muses, for instance, were placed there, (Cic. Fam. vii. 23), or the lofty goddess of wisdom and creative intellect presided; her statue or bust, *media Minerva*, (Juven. iii. 219), giving to the spot a higher sanctity.

For the purposes of the library, not only to superintend it, but also to increase its stores, and attend to the neatness of its exterior, special slaves were kept, who belonged to the larger class of the *librarii*. The name denotes generally, all those who were used for writing purposes, whence they are called also simply *scribæ*. As such, however, they are to be distinguished; first, from the *scribæ publici*, who were *liberi*, and formed an order of their own; and next from the *bibliopolæ*, who are also called *librarii*. Comp. Eschenbach, *de scribis vet.* in *Polen. thes.* tom. iii. Ernesti, *Clav. Cic.* s. v. *scriba*. Among the *scribæ* kept by a private individual, a distinction is made between the *librarii a studiis*—*ab epistolis*, and *a bibliotheca*; but whether the connection of the two words, *librarius a bibliotheca*, can be found, appears doubtful. In inscriptions it generally runs, *librarius et a bibliotheca*; and the latter would then have been the one who held the superintendence over the whole, for which purpose a *librarius* would naturally be used. The *librarii*, who transcribed for the libraries, were at a later period called *antiquarii* also. Cod. Theod. iv. 8, 2. Still the explanation given by Isid. Orig. vi. 14, *Librarii iidem et antiquarii vocantur: sed librarii sunt, qui et nova et vetera scribunt, antiquarii, qui tantummodo vetera, unde et nomen sumserunt*, can hardly be deemed the true one. It appears more correct to suppose, that when the old Roman



text began to pass into the running hand, those who adhered to the old, respectable uncial character, were named *antiquarii*, with the same right as those authors who purposely used *antiqua et recondita verba*, (Suet. *Aug.* 86), were called by this name. See Gurlitt, *Archäol. Schr.* 7, and hence the glossaries explain the word by ἀρχαιογράφος and καλλιγράφος.

But the *librarii* were not mere transcribers, but at the same time book-binders, if we may apply this term to the rolls.

On this subject, see Lipsius, *de bibliothecis syntagma*, iii ; Lomeier, *de bibliothecis*, (in an antiquarian point of view very unimportant).

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## EXCURSUS II. SCENE III.

### THE BOOKS.

SCHWARZ, in his learned dissertation, *De ornamentis librorum apud veteres usitatis*, has treated in detail about the external form of the books of the ancients; mixing up, it is true, much that could be dispensed with. Still much remains, even after his laborious enquiry, to be corrected and explained; and the rolls that have been discovered in Herculaneum, will afford a partial enlightenment. Some points have been touched on by Bekker, *ad Tibull.* iii. 1, and *Elegia Romana*, 242.

The material on which the books were generally written, was the fine bark (the *liber*, the single layers, *philyræ*) of the Ægyptian Papyrus, which, at the time of Augustus, had been brought into such a state of perfection, by preparation and bleaching (*ablutio*), that the quality formerly considered the best (*hieratica*), was now only ranked as third rate, while that named after Augustus took the first place, and the next to it bore the name of Livia. There were various manufactories of it at Rome: Plin. xiii. 12, 23, says, after speaking of the kinds above-mentioned, *Proximum (nomen) amphitheatricæ datum fuerat a constructuræ loco. Excepit hanc Romæ Fannii sagax officina, tenuatamque curiosa interpolatione principalem fecit e plebeia et nomen ei dedit. Quæ non esset ita recurata, in suo mansit amphitheatrica.* He mentions eight sorts in all, the commonest of which, the *emporetica*, was unfit for writing on, and only used for packing with, whence its name (*a mercatoribus cognominata*).

The narrow strips of this paper—in the Herculanean rolls only six fingers broad—glued together, became *paginæ*, *schedæ*, which, according to Mart. iv. 90, does not signify a single leaf, as in Cic. *Attic.* i. 20, but the last strip of the roll. The width, and of course the length of the rolls varied. Those found at Herculaneum are generally a Neapolitan palm wide, but some are narrower. See Winkelm. *Br. an Bianconi*, W. ii. 227.

Next to Papyrus, parchment, *membrana* (*Pergamena*) the invention of Eumenes of Pergamus, was the most practical material. Plin. xiii. 11, 21. The use of it, however, was much more confined, as it was probably much higher in price. Although we read besides of writings on leather (Ulp. Dig. xxxii. 1, 52), or on linen (Salm. *ad Vopisc. Aurel.* viii. 439. Comp. Marc. Capell. ii. 35), or even on silk (Symmach. iv. *Ep.* 34), they must be considered as belonging to the imperfections of the more ancient, or to the eccentricities of later times, or perhaps nothing of the nature of books is alluded to.

The ink they wrote with, *atramentum librarium*, was a kind of pigment, or Chinese ink, prepared from lamp black. Plin. xxxv. 6, 25. *Fit enim et fuligine pluribus modis, resina vel pice exustis. Propter quod officinas etiam ædificavere, fumum eum non emittentes; laudatissimum eodem modo fit e. tædis. Adulteratur fornacum balinearumque fuligine, quo ad volumina scribenda utuntur. Sunt qui et vini fæcem siccata excoquant, etc.* Id. xxvii. 7, 28. *Atramentum librarium ex diluto ejus (absinthii) temperatum literas a musculis tuetur.* What Winkelmann says (vid. sup) of the Herculean MSS. agrees very well with this. The Herculean MSS. are written with a kind of black pigment very much like the Chinese ink, which has more body than the common ink. If the writing be held towards the light, it appears to be in slight relief, and the ink which was found still remaining in an inkstand, is a sure proof that this was the case. We must conclude, however, from Pers. iii. 12, that the juice of the *sepia* was also used for this purpose, although the Scholiast denies it. He says

Tunc querimur, crassus calamo quod pendeat humor,  
Nigra quod infusa vanescat sepia lympa;  
Dilutas querimur geminet quod fistula guttas.

Ausonius, also (iv. 76), calls the letters *notas furvæ sepia*, so that it would appear that Persius used the word in its proper signification. The ancients do not appear to have been acquainted with any artificial sympathetic ink, requiring a particular manipulation to become visible, and intended only for those initiated into the secret. But on the other hand, the use of some natural substances, such as milk, or the juice of a flax-stalk,

for such a purpose, were not unknown to them. Hence, Ovid, *Art. iii.* 627, advises,

Tuta quoque est, fallitque oculos e lacte recenti  
 Litera : carbonis pulvere tange : leges.  
 Fallet et humiduli quæ fiet acumine lini,  
 Et feret occultas pura tabella notas.

For more on this subject see Beckmann's *Beitr. z. Gesch. d. Erfind.* ii. 295.

They used, instead of the pens now employed, a reed cut like ours with the *scalprum librarium* (*Tac. Ann.* v. 8 ; *Suet. Vit.* 2). The best sort came from Ægypt, Gnidus, and the Anaitic Lake. *Plin.* xvi. 36, 64 ; *Mart.* xiv. 38, *Fasces calamorum*.

In a fresco painting discovered at Herculaneum, there is such a *calamus* lying across an inkstand. See *Mus. Borb.* i. tab. 12 ; *Winkelm. W.* ii. tab. iii. Some petrifications of them, have also been discovered. See *Winkelm.* as above, and Martorelli, *de regia theca calamaria*.

The writing was, frequently, divided into columns ; and lines, probably of red colour, *minium*, were ruled between them. In the Herculanean rolls these lines appear white, which is easily accounted for. See *Winkelm.* 233. The title of the book was placed both at the beginning and the end.

In general, only one side of the *charta*, or *membrana*, was written on, and therefore, *Juven.* i. 5, says of an inordinately long tragedy,

———— summi plena jam margine libri  
 Scriptus, et in tergo, necdum finitus Orestes.

Perhaps, however, this was caused by an excess of economy, of which *Mart.* viii. 62, may be taken as an instance:

Scribit in aversa Picens epigrammata charta,  
 Et dolet, averso quod facit illa deo.

For trivial writing, as for instance the exercises of children, they used material which had already writing on one side. The passage in *Hor. Epist.* i. 20. 17, referred by Porphyrio to this, may evidently be understood in another sense, though the words of *Martial*, iv. 86, on referring his book to Apollinaris, cannot be misunderstood.

Such *Opisthographa*, (*Plin. Ep.* iii. 5.) generally contained merely notes, memoranda, compilations, or even pieces of com-

position, of which a fair copy was afterwards to be written. If the contents of the book were, however, of no value, they would rub out all the writing, and write again on the same paper, which was then called *palimpsestus*. Cic. *Fam.* vii. 18. Comp. Catull. xxii. 4. Hence Mart. iv. 10, wished to append a sponge to his book; for

Non possunt nostros multæ, Faustine, lituræ  
Emendare jocos; una litura potest.

The back of the book was generally dyed, with cedrus or saffron. Luc. *πρὸς ἀπαίδ.* iii. 113: καὶ ἀλείφει τῷ κρόκῳ καὶ τῇ κέδρῳ. This is, according to Persius, iii. 10, the *positis bicolor membrana capillis*, and to Juven. vii. 23, *croceæ membrana tabellæ*. Whatever is to be understood under the term *cedrus*, (in Plin. xiii. 13, 86, called *libri citrati*. Comp. Billerb. *Flora Class.* 199,) it is at least certain, that the book was protected against worms, and its back dyed yellow by this means. Ovid. *Trist.* iii. 1, 13.

When the book was filled with writing to the end, a stick or reed was probably fastened to its last leaf or strip, and around this it was coiled. These reeds, which are still visible on the Herculanean rolls, did not project on either side beyond the roll, but had their extremities in the same plane as the base of the cylinder. They are supposed to be what the ancients called *umbilicus*. See Winkelm. ii. 231; Mitsch. on *Hor. Epod.* xiv. 8; and certainly expressions such as *ad umbilicum adducere*, (Horace), and *jam pervenimus usque ad umbilicos*, support this supposition. The expression would not be an unfit one for the cavity in the centre of each disc; but if we consider that Martial, in recounting the various ornaments belonging to a book, always mentions *umbilici* and never *cornua*—though this latter word is always used by Tibullus and Ovid, for whom indeed the word *umbilicus* was not adapted—(see the passages quoted below), we must be convinced that both terms signify the same thing. Besides Mart. iii. 2, calls the *umbilici picti*, so that these cannot be merely the hollows of the tube. So Tibullus also says, *pingantur cornua*. The most any one can assume is, that the former expression has a more extended signification, and denotes the apertures with the knobs

belonging to them, and in corroboration of this Martial, v. 6, 15, may be quoted:

Quæ cedro decorata purpuraque  
Nigris pagina crevit umbilicis.

Martial mentions the *cornua* only once, xi. 107, where *explicitus usque ad sua cornua liber*, is equivalent to iv. 90: *Jam pervenimus usque ad umbilicos*.

A small stick was passed through the tube, serving as it were for an axis to the cylinder, and on both of its ends, which projected beyond the disc, ivory, golden, or painted knobs were fastened. These knobs are the *cornua*, or *umbilici*. The stick itself was named in later Greek, *κοντάκιον*.

Before this, however, the bases of the roll were carefully cut, smoothed with pumice-stone, and dyed black. These are the *geminæ frontes*, in the centre of which were the *umbilici*, or *cornua*. It is worthy of remark, that generally in the paintings at Herculaneum and Pompeii, nothing is to be seen representing such knobs, and that no trace of them has been discovered in the Herculanean manuscripts.

In order to preserve the rolls more effectually from damage, they were wrapped up in parchment, which was dyed on the outside with purple, or with beautiful yellow of the *lutum, lutea*, (*Genista tinctoria*, Linn.) This envelope (not a *capsa*) was called by the Greeks simply *διφθέρα*, and by the Romans *membrana*. Martial uses for it, x. 93, *purpurea toga*. The Greek *σιττύβαι* is something similar. Cic. *Attic.* iv. 5. Hesych. *σιττύβαι, δερμάτιναι στολαί*. Nothing else is meant by Mart. xi. 1, when he says, *cultus sindone non quotidiana*.

Finally came the title, *titulus, index*, which was written on a narrow strip of papyrus, or parchment, in deep red colour *coccum*, or *minium*, but it is not easy to say where this ticket was placed.

Winkelmann, 242, denies that the rolls were bound; at least no trace of it was to be found on those at Herculaneum. It is true that Martial, xiv. 37, says *Scrinium*,

Constrictos nisi das mihi libellos,  
Admittam tineas trucesque blattas;

but not to mention that others read *constructos*, it is not very

clear how the *constringere* could serve as a protection against the *tineæ* and *blattæ*. So that this one passage offers no positive proof. The cover itself, or the single book complete, was called by the Greek name *tomus*. Mart. i. 67.

The passages in which the ancient authors enter into a more detailed account of the ornaments of the books, now remain to be examined. In the first place, let us quote the well known passage of Tibullus, iii. 1, 9 :

Lutea sed niveum involvat membrana libellum  
 Pumex et canas tondeat ante comas :  
 Summaque prætexat tenuis fastigia chartæ,  
 Indicet ut nomen litera facta meum :  
 Atque inter geminas pingantur cornua frontes ;  
 Sic etenim comtum mittere oportet opus.

The author cannot renounce the supposition, expressed in his *Eleg. Rom.*, that it should be read *tenuis charta* : for since the poet is speaking of the *index*, and the book was rolled up in a *membrana*, the title could not possibly have been upon the *charta* itself, or the *membrana* would have concealed it. *Tenuis charta* would be the strip, upon which the title was written with *minium*.

The description in Ovid, *Trist.* i. 1, 5, is more complete, and that of Martial, iii. 8, most comprehensive of all :

Cedro nunc licet ambules perunctus,  
 Et frontis gemino decens honore  
 Pictis luxurieris umbilicis ;  
 Et te purpura delicata velet,  
 Et cocco rubeat superbus index.

Compare i. 67, viii. 72. Lastly, Lucian affords an interesting contribution, Πρὸς ἀπαιδευτον, iii. p. 113, τίνα γὰρ ἐλπῖδα καὶ αὐτὸς ἔχων εἰς τὰ βιβλία καὶ ἀνελίττεις αἰεὶ, καὶ διακολλᾷς, καὶ περικόπτεις καὶ ἀλείφεις τῷ κρόκῳ καὶ τῇ κέδρῳ, καὶ διφθέρας περιβάλλεις, καὶ ὀμφαλοὺς ἐντίθεις, ὡς δὴ τί ἀπολαύσων ; and περὶ τῶν ἐπὶ μισθῷ συνόντων. sub. fin. ἅπαντες γὰρ ἀκριβῶς ὅμοιοί εἰσι τοῖς καλλίστοις τούτοις βιβλίοις, ὧν χρυσοὶ μὲν οἱ ὀμφαλοὶ, πορφυρᾷ δ' ἔκτοσθεν ἡ διφθέρα.

The *librarii* were no doubt charged with thus equipping the books. Cic. *Attic.* iv. 4.

It became usual to have the portrait of the author painted on the first page. Senec. *de Tranq. an.* 9 ; Martial, xiv. 186.

We may also perhaps assume that the paintings in the

Vatican Virgil and Terence, are imitations of a more ancient, or, at least, ancient custom! Pliny adduces Greek botanical works, in which the plants were copied, xxv. 2, 4.

The following engraving, taken from a drawing in Gell's *Pompeiana*, ii. 187, though not existing in any one place as a



painting at Pompeii, may nevertheless be considered antique, as it consists of a union of all the usual implements of writing collected from a great number of ancient paintings in the two ruined cities.

On the left is a circular wooden or metal case, with a lid, containing six books or volumes rolled up and labelled, each according to its contents, so as to be easily distinguished. Below this lies a *stylus* and a pentagonal inkstand, not unlike those now in common use. In the centre lies a pen made of reed, and thence called *calamus*. Next to the case of books, is the *tabella* or *tabula*, joined together as with hinges, and sometimes, perhaps always, covered with wax. Another sort is hung up above this, where the *stylus* serves as a pin to hang it up against the wall. A sort of thick book of tablets, open, lies to the right of the last. In the centre are seen single volumes in cases, one of which is open on the left, and the other shut. On the right are four volumes, lying in such a manner as to want no explanation, two of which have their titles, one attached to the *papyrus* itself, and the other from the *umbilicus* or cylinder of wood in its centre.



### EXCURSUS III. SCENE III.

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#### THE BOOKSELLERS.

AS soon as the desire for foreign and domestic literature became general, and men of letters, or those who affected to be so, began to consider a library in their house indispensable, persons were to be found who gained their livelihood by supplying this want. When Cicero, *ad Quint. Fr.* iii. 4, writes: *De bibliotheca tua Græca supplenda, libris commutandis, Latinis comparandis valde velim ista confici, — Sed ego mihi ipsi ista per quem agam non habebō, neque enim venalia sunt, quæ quidem placeant*, etc., we cannot suppose that any thing else is alluded to than a regular trade in books. He speaks also in like manner of the copies of the laws sold by the *librarii*, *Leg.* iii. 20, *a librariis petimus; publicis literis consignatam memoriam publicam nullam habemus*, and mentions, *Philipp.* ii. 9, *a taberna libraria*, in which Clodius took refuge. Under Augustus, we find it already becoming a distinct trade, and Horace himself mentions the brothers, *Sosii*, by whom his poems were sold. *Epist.* i. 20, 2, *ut prostes Sosiorum pumice levis. Art. Poet.* 315. *Hic meret æra liber Sosiis* (viz. the book, *qui miscuit utile dulci*.) These *librarii* transcribed the books themselves, and no doubt kept assistants for the greater and more rapid multiplication of copies of them. They also went by the name of *bibliopolæ*, *Mart.* iv. 71, xiii. 3; *Poll.* vii. 33, *βιβλίων κάπηλοι, βιβλιοκάπηλοι*; *Luc.* πρὸς ἀπαίδ. iii. 29, 103, *Gr.* Their business seems mostly to have been considered merely in a mercantile point of view, whence celerity was desired rather than correctness. On this account Martial vindicates himself, ii. 8,

Si qua videbuntur chartis tibi, lector, in istis  
Sive obscura nimis, sive Latina parum:  
Non meus est error; nocuit librarius illis,  
Dum properat versus annumerare tibi.

And for this reason authors obliged their friends by looking

over their copies, and correcting the errors, Mart. vii. 11. *Cogis me calamo manūque nostra emendare meos libellos*: and *Epist.* 16,

Hos nido licet inseras vel imo,  
Septem quos tibi mittimus libellos,  
Auctoris calamo sui notatos.  
Hæc illis pretium facit litura.

In Martial's time these *librarii*, or *bibliopolæ*, had their shops, *tabernæ*, chiefly about the *Argiletum*, i. 4, 118; but elsewhere also, i. 2, as in the *Vicus Sandalarius*, Gell. xviii. 4. *In Sandalario forte apud librarios fuimus*. Galen. *de libr. suis*, iv. 361, ἐν γὰρ τῇ Σανδαλιάρῳ καθ' ὃ δὴ πλεῖστα τῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ βιβλιοπωλείων ἐστίν, κ. τ. λ. The titles of the books on sale were suspended on the doors of the shops, or if the *taberna* were under a portico, on the pillars in front of it. Thus Mart. i. 118, describes the place where his Epigrams were to be sold:

Argi nempe soles subire letum:  
Contra Cæsaris est forum taberna,  
Scriptis postibus hinc et inde totis,  
Omnes ut cito perlegas poetas.

And this is what Horace, *Art. Poet.* 372, refers to: *mediocribus esse poetis non homines, non dii, non concessere columnæ*; and more plainly, *Sat.* i. 4, 71,

Nulla taberna meos habeat, neque pila libellos;

on which see Heindorf's remarks. Comp. Seneca, *Ep.* 33.

The price at which the books were sold, after all, appears but moderate, especially when we remember that the cost of the external ornaments is to be taken into account. Martial, as above, says, the bookseller

(Dabit) Rasum pumice purpuraque cultum  
Denariis tibi quinque Martialem;

and yet this first book contained 119 Epigrams, some of them tolerably long. He places the price still lower in *Ep.* 67, where he exclaims to a *plagiarius*,

Erras, meorum fur avare librorum,  
Fieri poetam posse qui putas tanti.  
Scriptura quanti constet et tomus vilis  
Non sex paratur, aut decem sophos nummis.

And Tryphon, he says, could actually sell the *Xenia* for two *sesterces*. See xiii. 3. It is true he says of his poems, (ii. 1.) *hæc una peragit librarius hora*, so that perhaps the binding often cost more than the book.

In what relation the bookseller and author stood to each other, is not an uninteresting subject for enquiry. People are usually inclined to suppose that the ancient authors wrote only for the sake of reputation, and did not expect any pecuniary remuneration. If, however, this may be considered as in general true, and especially in the earlier times, still there is no doubt, that in other cases, writers obtained a substantial gain from their works. [This is not concluded from the *paupertas impulit audax, ut versus facerem*; for at that period Horace had only published poems intended for circulation among friends, but by which he hoped to recommend himself to the great. See *Sat. i. 4, 71*. Still if Plautus, Terence, and others, sold their comedies to the *Ædiles*, it will surely not appear strange that other authors should receive remuneration for their labour. Thus the elder Pliny was offered, by a private individual, the sum of 400,000 *sest.* for his *Commentarii electorum*, *Plin. Ep. iii. 5*. This was, it is true, not the offer of a bookseller, but Martial frequently states, that transactions of this nature did take place between them, as for instance, when he recommends those who wished to have his poems presented or lent to them, to purchase them of his bookseller, *iv. 71*:

Exigis ut donem nostros tibi, Quincte, libellos :

Non habeo, sed habet bibliopola Tryphon.

"Æs dabo pro nugis, et emam tua carmina sanus ?

Non, inquis, faciam tam fatue." Nec ego.

*Comp. i. 118*, where the poet very humorously declines lending them; but the matter is quite clear from *xi. 108*, when he declares he will conclude the book, because he wants money :

Quamvis tam longo poteras satur esse libello,

Lector, adhuc a me disticha pauca petis.

Sed Lupus usuram, puerique diaria poscunt.

Lector, solve, taces, dissimulasque ? Vale.

When, therefore, he elsewhere designates the business of the poet as a poor one, *xiv. 219, nullos referentia nummos curmina*, (*comp. i. 77*.) this must be understood of the smallness of the pay, in comparison with that of other productive occupations, and *v. 16*, where he certainly says,

At nunc conviva est commissatorque libellus,

Et tantum gratis pagina nostra placet.

he only means, that those who took pleasure in his poems, did not reward the author, as had been the case in Virgil's time; in the same way he complains, xi. 3, that he was no richer for his epigrams being read in Britain, Spain, and Gaul, for *nescit sacculus ista meus*. This, however, does not exclude the possibility of his having, by some stipulation with the bookseller, derived a profit, and it is inconceivable how Martial, who according to his own account, was always in want of money, should have endured quietly to look on, while Tryphon, or Pollius, or Secundus, made a considerable profit of his poems; for we have reason to believe that his books were very successful. See *Hor. Art. Poet.* 345; *Mart.* xiv. 194; and as regards a later period, *Sulpic. Sever. Dial.* i. 23, who is quoted by Schöttgen, in his rather superficial treatise *De librariis et bibliopolis antiquorum*, and in *Poleni Suppl. thes. Gr.* tom. iii.

Some of the copies, however, found their way, in the shape of waste paper, into the taverns, and to the vendors of salt-fish, from whom the school-children obtained what they needed. See *Mart.* iv. 86, iii. 2, xiii. 1, and particularly vi. 60, 7:

Quam multi tineas pascunt blattasque deserti,  
Et redimunt soli carmina docta coqui.

It was not in Rome and Greece only, or in the countries into which Greek refinement was introduced, that the literature of Rome was disseminated; but also among the less civilized provinces. Hence Horace says of a good book, *trans mare curret*, and Martial is read in Gaul and Britain. So also, *Plin. Epist.* ix. 11: *Bibliopolas Lugduni esse non putabam, ac tanto lubentius ex literis tuis cognovi venditari libellos meos.*

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## EXCURSUS IV. SCENE III.

### THE LETTER.

THE Roman of quality, who even at his studies used to avail himself of the hands of another to write extracts for him, still more generally employed a slave in his correspondence, which, notwithstanding all the impediments thrown in its way, by the want of public conveyances, appears to have been tolerably rapid. They had slaves or freedmen for the purpose, *ab epistolis*, who belonged to the class of the *librarii*, and were also called, *ad manum, a manu, amanuenses*. Orell. *Inscr.* 2874. *Jucundus Domitiæ Bibuli librarius ad manum*. Orelli, it is true, makes the distinction; *librarius, idemque ad manum*: but the *amanuensis* is called also *librarius*. Cic. *Attic.* iv. 16: *Epistolæ nostræ tantum habent mysteriorum, ut eas ne librariis committamus*. Plin. vii. 25: (Cæsarem) *epistolas tantarum rerum quaternas pariter librariis dictare aut, si nihil aliud ageret, septenas* (accepimus). As correspondence was frequently carried on in Greek, they had also *libr. ab epistolis Græcis*, (Orell. 2437), as well as *ab epistolis Latinis*. Id. 2997.

Before a letter was ready to be dispatched, five things were required, which we find mentioned all together in Plaut. *Bacch.* iv. 4, 64:

CHR. Nunc tu abi intro, Pistoclere, ad Bacchidem, atque effer cito—

PI. Quid? CHR. Stilum, ceram, et tabellas et linum.

The ring comes afterwards. Of these, the *tabellæ* were, like the *pugillares*, or *codicilli*, thin tablets of wood (the *pugillares* also of ivory or citrus, Mart. xiv. 3, 5, and of parchment, ib. 7), were covered over with wax, (Ovid. *Art. Am.* i. 437, *cera rasis infusa tabellis*), in which the letters were formed with a *stilus*. They naturally varied in size. For elegant love-letters, very small tablets were used, which bore a name of doubtful signification,—*Vitelliani*. Mart. xiv. 8 and 9, *Vitellani*.

Quod minimos cernis, mitti nos credis amicæ.

Of this description are the *tabellæ* which Amor brings to Polyphemus in an antique painting. See *Mus. Borb.* i. t. 2. Still

letters were also written on papyrus. Cic. *Fam.* vii. 18, and Mart. xiv. 11, with the Lemma, *Chartæ epistolares*:

Seu leviter noto, seu caro missa sodali,  
Omnes ista solet charta vocare suos.

As the smooth surfaces thus covered with wax, could not be allowed to rest upon one another, and by inserting a board between them, the writing would have been obliterated by the pressure, we must suppose that the tablets had a somewhat elevated border. This supposition gains probability from an antique painting in *Mus. Borb.* vi. t. 35, in which a girl is holding the *stilus* and the *puigillares*, the two tablets of which clearly exhibit such an elevated border. So also in Gell's *Pomp.* ii. 187.

The letter being ended, the *tabellæ* were bound together by a linen thread, or more correctly, a fine pack-thread, probably cross-ways, and where the string was fastened, were sealed with wax, (See concerning this and the sealing-earth, *cretula*, Cic. *Ver.* iv. 9; Beckmann, *Beitr. z. Gesch. d. Erfind.* i. 474), and stamped with the ring. Plaut. *Bacch.* 4, 96:

Cedo tu ceram ac linum actutum, age oblige, obsigna cito.

Cic. *Catil.* iii. 5: *Ac ne longum sit, Quirites, tabellas proferri jussimus, quæ a quoque dicebantur datæ. Primum ostendimus Cethego signum: cognovit. nos linum incidimus: legimus, erat scriptum ipsius manu.* If the letter were written by the *librarius*, this seal afforded the only guarantee of its genuineness, for which reason the seal was generally examined, previous to opening the letter, and before it was injured by cutting the string asunder. We should almost suppose that the hand-writing, being on wax, and in uncial character, must have been difficult to recognize, and yet the proof of the letter's authenticity is often taken from this. Plautus himself says (*Bacch.* v. 78): *nam propterea te volo scribere, ut pater cognoscat literas quando legat.* So Cicero in the passage quoted above, and frequently. Comp. Ovid, *Heroid.* xv. 1; Sabin. *Ep.* i. 3.

As the advantage of public posts was not known, they were obliged to dispatch special messengers, unless an opportunity by chance occurred, and frequently to very remote places: *tabellarii* kept for this purpose, therefore were the regular letter-carriers of private persons, and are often mentioned. See Cic. *Phil.* ii. 31; *Fam.* xii. 12, xiv. 22; *Verr.* iii. 79; *Auct. bell. Hisp.* 12, 16, 18.

## EXCURSUS V. SCENE III.

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### THE CLOCKS.

NOTWITHSTANDING the magnificence of the domestic arrangements of the ancients, and the refined care bestowed on every thing that could make life agreeable, they still were without many ordinary conveniences. For instance, a clock, to regulate the business of the day, according to a fixed measure of time, to us an indispensable piece of furniture, which the man of moderate means can command with facility, and even the poorest does not like to be without,—was, for nearly five hundred years, a thing quite unknown in Rome, and even in later times only in a very imperfect state.

Besides this, the division of the day was inconvenient. It is true, they reckoned twenty-four hours from midnight to midnight, but they divided the regular duration of the day, between the rising and setting of the sun, into twelve hours, and allotted the remainder of the time to the night, which was partitioned into four watches. On this account a faulty state of things naturally arose, for the hours of night and day being of variable length throughout the year, and only equal at the equinoxes, their eleventh hours, for instance, began at fifty-eight minutes past two, according to our mode of reckoning, in the winter solstice, and at two minutes past five in the summer solstice. Thus any comparison of the Roman hours with ours, is attended with this difficulty, that we must always know the natural length of the day for the latitude of Rome, in order that our calculation may be correct. Still for a tolerably near computation, the table given in Ideler's *Lehrbuch. d. Chronologie*, and in the *Handbuch*, Part ii., is sufficient; “it gives the length of the Roman day in our equi-form hours for the eight principal points of the ecliptic, in the year 45 B. C., being the first year of Julius Cæsar's regulation of the Calendar.”

Day of the Year.		Length of the Day.	
		hours.	min.
23	December	8	54
6	February	9	50
23	March	12	
9	May	14	10
25	June	15	6
10	August	14	10
25	September	12	
9	November	9	50

In order to give a more clear and comprehensive view of the matter, a table is added, comparing the Roman hours with ours, at both the solstices, where the difference is greatest, while at the equinoxes alone our hours coincide with those of the Roman.

In Summer.				In Winter.			
hour.	hours.	min.	sec.	hours.	min.	sec.	
1	4	27		7	33		
2	5	42	30	8	17	30	
3	6	58		9	2		
4	8	13	30	9	46	30	
5	9	29		10	31		
6	10	44	30	11	15	30	
7	12			12			
8	1	15	30	12	44	30	
9	2	31		1	29		
10	3	46	30	2	13	20	
11	5	2		2	58		
12	6	17	30	3	42	30	
End of the day		7	33	4	27		

This division of the hours lasted a long time, and it is only in calendars of the latest period that we find the length of the night and day, through the different months, given according to equinoctial hours. Of this kind is the *Calendarium rusticum Farnesianum*, which is to be found in Græv. *Thes. antiq. Rom.* viii., with Orsini's explanations; and in *Mus. Borb.* ii. t. 44. Still it contains as yet no indication of a Christian æra, as in the case of the Viennese one, which is referred to the age of Constantine. In Græv. 97. Ideler, *Handbuch. d. Chron.* ii. 139. A question difficult of solution offers itself, whether in giving the hour, as *hora sexta, nona, decima*, the current, or already elapsed hour is meant, (S. Salmas. on *Vopisc. Florian.* 6, 634;



*Exerc. ad Solin.* 636); whether, for instance, *hora nona* denoted the equinoctial hour from two to three, or was equivalent to saying, at three o'clock. It is true, that on ancient sun-dials the hours are only divided by means of eleven lines, which have no numbers placed against them. If the shadow of the finger (gnomon) fell upon the first line, the first hour would be already elapsed, and *hora prima* would be the commencement of the second. When, on the other hand, Martial, iv. 8, says,

Prima salutantes atque altera continet hora,  
 Exercet raucos tertia caudicos.  
 In quintam varios extendit Roma labores;  
 Sexta quies lassas, septima finis erit.  
 Sufficit in nonam nitidis octava palæstris;  
 Imperat exstructos frangere nona toros.

it is evident that in each case the current hour is meant, and as *nona* is the usual hour for the *cæna*, *hora nona cænare* can, to agree with the passage, denote only, at the beginning of the ninth hour. The same seems also to follow from the epigram which has already been quoted by others. Anthol. Pal. x. 43 :

Ἐξ ὥραι μόχοις ἱκανώταται, αἱ δὲ μετ' αὐτὰς  
 Γράμμασι δεικνύμεναι ΖΗΘΙ λέγουσι βροτοῖς.

For the letters *ά—ς* would fall to the first six hours, and *ζ* denote the whole of the seventh.

According to Pliny, (vii. 60), there was no sun-dial in Rome until eleven years before the war with Pyrrhus, (about 460 A.U.C.), although their use had been already made known in Greece by Anaximander, or his scholar, Anaximenes, about 500 years before Christ. See Ideler, *Lehrb.* 97. L. Papirius Cursor placed the first on the temple of Quirinus, as Pliny, after Fabius Vestalis, relates. Varro, on the other hand, dates the introduction of this time-measure about twenty years later, and makes M. Valerius Messala bring to Rome the first sun-dial, captured at the conquest of Catina, A.U.C. 491. Up to that time, they had only been able to determine noon, and some other divisions of the day, by estimating, though with no certainty, the position of the sun. See vii. 60, Pliny, and more distinctly, Varro, *L. L.* v. 62 : *Cosconius in actionibus scribit : prætorem accensum solitum esse jubere, ubi ei videbatur horam esse tertiam, inclamare esse tertiam, itemque meridiem et horam nonam.* Meierotto, (*Sitten u. Lebensart der Römer*, i. 207),

was in error in concluding from the fragment of the *Bæotia*, or *Bis compressa* of Plautus, where the parasite says,

Ut illum dii perdant, primus qui horas reperit,  
 Quique adeo primus statuit hic solarium.—  
 Nam me puero vetus hic erat solarium, etc.

(he means his stomach), that the first *solarium* came to Rome in the time of Plautus. This would have been about the time of the second Punic war; but was it actually necessary that Plautus should allude to his youth in order to make this joke? The sundials, *horologia solaria*, or *sciotherica*, were at a later period in very general use, and made of various forms. Comp. Vit. ix. 9; Ernesti, *de solariis*, and Clavis Ciceron.; *Pitture d'Ercol.* iii. 337; Martini, *Abh. v. d. Sonnenuhren d. Alten.*; Van Beeck Calkoen, *Diss. Math. ant. de horologiis vet. sciothericis*; Wüstem. *Pal. d. Scaur.* 150; *Mus. Borb.* vii. Frontisp. As the shadow of the finger (gnomon) placed perpendicularly upon the horizontal surface, had to give the twelve hours of the natural day, which were at one time short, at another long, a three-fold division was made. Vit. ix. 8: *Omnium autem figurarum descriptionumque earum effectus unus, uti dies æquinotialis brumalisque itemque solstitialis in duodecim partes æqualiter sit divisus.*

On dull days there was still as much uncertainty as ever about the time of day, until *clepsydræ* became known; they, in some degree, amended this deficiency. They were similar to our sand-glasses, since the water contained in a vessel was allowed gradually to escape. The first *clepsydra* was, according to Pliny, (vii. 69), publicly set up by Scipio Nasica, in the year 595, A. U. C.; but lately, doubts have been raised (Ideler, *Lehrb.* 258) as to whether this water-clock was a mere *clepsydra*, as it is named *horologium* by Pliny, and *horarium* by Censorin. *de die nat.* 24. It has on the contrary been taken for an actual clock of the invention of Ctesibios. From this it would further follow that that ingenious mechanic did not (as Athenæus, iv. 174, relates) live under Ptolemæus Evergetes II., but perhaps under the first, which would place his date almost one hundred years earlier, since the second did not succeed to the throne till 608, A. U. C. The latter supposition, derived perhaps from a similar, but probably erroneous account,

given by Beckmann, (*Beitr. z. Gesch. d. Erfind. i.* 284,) appears quite unnecessary; for Ptolemy VII. had reigned in Cyrenaica since 583, A.U.C., though he did not mount the throne of Ægypt till later, and even then Ctesibios could very easily belong to his age, and his water-clock still be known, as early as 595.

It does not seem, indeed, that so much must be inferred from the words *horologium* and *horarium*, which after all only signify hour-measures. Pliny evidently means to say, that until this period they had been confined entirely to sun-dials, and possessed no sort of water-clock. His words are, *Etiam tum tamen nubilo incertæ fuere horæ usque ad proximum lustrum. Tunc Scipio Nasica collega Lænatis primus aqua divisit horas æque noctium ac dierum, idque horologium sub tecto dicavit anno urbis D.X.C.V.* Now certainly it was not a single *clepsydra* which marked perhaps the lapse of one hour; but why could it not be a junction of several of various size, or a larger vessel, on which there were certain marks by which the lapse of the several hours could be perceived? This last appears to be what Sidon. Apoll. means in the passage quoted by Ideler, *Ep. ii. 9, nuntius per spatia clepsydræ horarum incrementa servans.* Ideler's remark after Beckmann, that *clepsydræ* were not known to the Romans till under Pompey, is not supported by the slightest hint or trace of any such thing in the dialogue *de causis corruptæ eloquentiæ*; they are not even once mentioned, and it is only said that the orators were stinted by him (Pompey) to a fixed time, (28). *Primus tertio consulatu Cn. Pompeius adstrinxit, imposuitque veluti frenos eloquentiæ.* On this account, *clepsydræ* were no doubt given them, of which frequent mention is made at a later period. Plin. *Ep. ii. 11*, says, *dixi horis pæne quinque, nam duodecim clepsydris, quas spatiosissimas acceperam* (they were different ones then) *sunt addita quatuor.* Others read, *nam clepsydræ viginti*, and this certainly accords better with the *horis quinque*; for in that case to each *clepsydra* would be assigned the fifth part of an hour, so that *quatuor viginti clepsydræ* made up, doubtless, *pæne horas quinque.* Compare Mart. vi. 35, viii. 7. These *clepsydræ* were naturally placed in private houses also, and besides the hydraulic clocks of Ctesibios, were probably to be found here and there,

although they would scarcely do for the Roman division of the day. Nevertheless, Weinbrenner, *Entwürfe*, *Heft*. ii. t. 7, 15, has invented a piece of mechanism by means of which, he says, it was possible to denote the various hours; but all these contrivances were less to be depended on than a modern wooden-clock.

In order to know the hour without giving themselves any trouble, slaves were kept on purpose to watch the *solarium* and *clepsydra*, and report each time that an hour expired. Mart. viii. 67 :

Horas quinque puer nondum tibi nunciat, et tu  
Jam conviva mihi, Cæciliane, venis.

Juven. x. 216 :

—— clamore opus est, ut sentiat auris  
Quem dicat venisse puer, quot nunciet horas.

The stupid Trimalchio had in his *triclinium* a *horologium*, and a *buccinator* by it, to tell each time the hour was elapsed. Petr. 26.

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## EXCURSUS I. SCENE IV.

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### THE LECTICA AND THE CARRIAGES.

WITH the great love of comfort that distinguished the upper ranks of the Roman world in later times, we may easily imagine that sufficient provision was made for the means of locomotion, unaccompanied by any exertion on their own part. We should form a very erroneous conception if we fancied that the Romans did not possess, as well as the moderns, their travelling, state, and hackney equipages: on the contrary, the means of conveyance in their times, though not so regularly organized as our stage-coaches and omnibuses, nor so generally used by all classes, were even more numerous, and, to a certain extent, better calculated for the purpose they were intended to answer, although this was intimately connected with the (to us unknown) system of slaves, and also depended on conditions of climate.

These subjects have been often and circumstantially treated of, and but little of importance remains to be added, so that we shall rather seek to select and properly apply the most essential points of what has already been made known. The most important writings are: Schefferi, *De re vehiculari veterum*, lib. ii., in *Poleni thes.* t. v., to which is appended, *De vehiculis antiquis diatribe*; Beckmann, *Beitr. z. Gesch. d. Erfind.* i. 390; and Ginzrot, *Die Wägen und Fahrwerke der Griechen und Römer und and. alt. Völk.* 2 vols. 4; a work which has the advantage of being written by a connoisseur in these matters, though as a philologist he is by no means all we could wish. Concerning the *lectica* in particular, see Lipsius, *Elect.* i. 19; Alstorph, *De lecticis veterum diatribe*, with the *Dissert. de lectis*.

The *Lectica*. We have here to discuss only that description which was used for journeys, or for being carried about in, within the city: concerning the *lectica funebris*, see the article on *The Burial of the Dead*. This *lectica* was probably like the common *lectus* in its chief points—at all events in its earlier form—except

that it had no *pluteus*. It was a frame made, for the sake of lightness, of wood, and with girths across it, upon which the mattress, *torus*, and probably at the head a cushion, *pulvinar*, were placed. The use of girths is very intelligible, although the passages in Martial (ii. 57) and Gellius (x. 3), which have been adduced as proving their use, may be considered to allude to something quite different. It is generally supposed that the *lecticæ* were, in more ancient times, uncovered (See Boettig. *Sab.* ii. 179, 200), although there appears not any ground for this opinion, as the copy of a *lectica*, which Scheffer after Pighius gives from a tomb, must rather pass for a *lectus funebris*, such as have been discovered on other monuments, worked in relief. See Goro, v. Agyagf. *Wand. d. Pomp.* tab. vi.; Ginzrot, tab. lxvii. What Boettiger after Gruter has given as a *lectica*, with a figure reposing on it, (*ibid.* Fig. 3), is as unlike as possible. When mention is made of the *lecticæ apertæ*, something quite different may be understood.

If, as is most probable, such palanquins were introduced from the east, it is also to be supposed that they were adopted in Rome in the form usual there, and were therefore covered. Such *lecticæ opertæ* are mentioned in Cicero's time, and even earlier. *Cic. Phil.* ii. 45: *Cum inde Romam profciscens ad Aquinum accederet, obviam ei processit magna sane multitudo, at iste operta lectica latus est per oppidum ut mortuus.* We must take care not to infer from the last words, the usage of a *lectica operta* at funerals. When a corpse was conveyed from one place to another, a closely covered vehicle was no doubt made use of. Of this kind was that mentioned by C. Gracchus, in *Gell.* x. 3, otherwise the peasant could not have asked, *num mortuum ferrent.* Cicero himself was in a covered *lectica* when he was overtaken by his murderers. *Plut. Cic.* 48. Ἐσφάγη δὲ τὸν τράχηλον ἐκ τοῦ φορείου προτείνας; *Aufid. Bass. ap. M. Sen. Suas.* i. 6: *Cicero paullum remoto velo postquam armatos vidit,* etc.

The *lectica* had a head and curtains, (*lectica tuta pelle veloque*), as Martial calls it, xi. 98; for *pellis* is the head of leather. An instance, from the same period, where a proscribed person was saved by his slave placing himself inside, whilst the master acted the part of *lecticarius*, is related by Dio Cass. xlvii. 10.

When therefore, *lecticæ apertæ* are mentioned, as Cic. *Phil.* ii. 24, *Vehebatur in essedo tribunus plebis; lictores laureati antecedeabant, inter quos aperta lectica mimæ portabatur*, we must not understand thereby a completely uncovered *lectica*, which was least of all suitable for a long journey, especially for a *Cytheris*, but that the curtains were drawn back and fastened up. These curtains, *vela*, were also called *plaggæ* or *plagulæ*. Non. iv. 361, xiv. 5; Suet. *Tit.* 10; *cum inde lectica auferretur, suspexisse dicitur dimotis plagulis cælum*. In later times they did not content themselves with curtains, but closed up the whole *lectica* with *lapis specularis*, not only for the use of the women, but also of the men. Juven. iii. 239, iv. 20. So also we read of the *basterna*, to be mentioned presently. *Anthol. Lat.* iii. 183; *radians patulum gestat utrinque latus*: effeminacy procured more easy pillows, and had them stuffed with feathers. Juv. i. 159:

Qui dedit ergo tribus patruis aconita, vehatur  
Pensilibus plumis, atque illinc despiciat nos?

An instance of still more refined luxury is to be found in Cic. *Verr.* v. 11: we subjoin the whole of this remarkable passage: *Nam ut mos fuit Bithyniæ regibus, lectica octophoro ferebatur, in qua pulvinus erat perlucidus Melitensi rosa fartus. Ipse autem coronam habebat unam in capite, alteram in collo, reticulumque ad nares sibi admovebat tenuissimo lino minutis maculis, plenum rosæ. Sic confecto itinere cum ad aliquod oppidum venisset, eadem lectica usque in cubiculum deferebatur*. It may easily be inferred that there was no lack of ornament, costly wood, decorations of silver, gold and ivory and splendid coverlets.

The poles on which the *lectica* was carried, *asseres*, do not appear (at least in all cases) to have been fastened to it. Whether it had iron rings, as Ginzrot (*Th.* ii. 278) has assumed, we leave undetermined. What Mart. ii. 57, says, *Recens cella linteisque, lorisque*, appears to refer to this: also the *struppi* in Gell. x. 3; which assumption accords very well with the explanation of the word in Isid. *Orig.* xix. 4. It is at any rate clear that the *asseres* were moveable, from Suet. *Cal.* 58: *Ad primum tumultum lecticarii cum asserebus in auxilium adcurrerunt*; and that by this we are to understand the carrying-poles, may be

gathered from the other passages where they are mentioned.  
Juv. vii. 132 :

Perque forum juvenes longo premit assere Medos ;

Comp. iii. 245 ; Mart. ix. 23, 9 :

Ut Canusinatus nostro Syrus assere sudet,  
Et mea sit culto sella cliente frequens.

Different from the *lectica*, and belonging to a later period, was the *sella gestatoria*. According to Dio Cassius, Claudius was the first who made use of it (lx. 2) : καὶ μέντοι καὶ δίφρῳ καταστέγῃ πρῶτος Ῥωμαίων ἐχρήσατο, καὶ ἐξ ἐκείνου καὶ νῦν οὐχ οἱ αὐτοκράτορες ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡμεῖς οἱ ὑπατευκότες διφροφορούμεθα· πρότερον δὲ ἄρα ὁ, τε Αὐγούστος καὶ ὁ Τιβέριος, ἄλλοι τέ τινες ἐν σκιμποδίοις ὁποίοις αἱ γυναῖκες ἔτι καὶ νῦν νομίζουσιν ἔστιν ὅτε ἐφέροντο. But this account appears very extraordinary, if we reflect that Suetonius says of Augustus, 53 : *In consulatu pedibus fere, extra consulatum sæpe adoperta sella per publicum incessit*, and that Dio Cassius himself frequently mentions, at an earlier period, the δίφρος κατάστεγος ; xlvii. 23, lvi. 43. It is only explicable from a gross inaccuracy in the use of the two expressions, as the interchange of them is to be found elsewhere. Thus Martial (iv. 51) says :

Cum tibi non essent sex millia, Cæciliane,  
Ingenti late vectus es hexaphoro.  
Postquam bis decies tribuit dea cæca, sinumque,  
Ruperunt nummi, factus es, ecce, pedes.  
Quid tibi pro meritis et tantis laudibus optem ?  
Di reddant sellam, Cæciliane, tibi.

But the *ingens hexaphoron* can only be understood of a *lectica*, which is called afterwards *sella* ; though it is evident from the interdiction of the emperor Claudius, (Suet. *Cl.* 35), that they were different : *Viatores ne per Italiæ oppida, nisi aut pedibus, aut sella, aut lectica transirent, monuit edicta* ; and Martial distinguishes them thus (xi. 98) :

Lectica nec te tuta pelle veloque,  
Nec vindicabit selle sæpius clausa.

and x. 10 : *Lecticam sellamve sequar* ? As the *lectica* was a litter, so was *sella* a sedan, which was mostly covered, but it might also be a common uncovered easy chair, at least we so understand, when Cælius Aurelianus, i. 5, (quoted by Scheffer), opposes the *cathedra* to the *sella fertoria*. (also *portatoria*).



The *lecticæ* were borne by fewer or more slaves, according as they varied in size. An *ingens lectica* required six or eight *lecticarii*, and was called *hexaphoron*, or *octophoron*, (Juv. i. 64), *sexta cervicæ ferri*. We have already discussed these bearers in the account of *The Slave-family*; for persons of rank and wealth kept for this purpose their own slaves, who were clad in a distinct red livery, *Canusinæ rufæ, canusinati*. See Bött. *Sab.* ii. 206. In Martial's time this dress appears to have been customary; but Nero also drove *Canusinatis mulionibus*. Suet. *Ner.* 30. Those who could not afford this, might obtain on hire plenty of litters, which stood ready at a certain spot, *Castra lecticariorum*, in the fourteenth region *trans Tiberim*, and no doubt elsewhere also. See P. Victor. *De reg. Urb. in Græv. thes.* iii. 49, and Onuphr. Panv. *Descr. Urb. Rom.* 312; Juv. vi. 352.

The question as to when the *lectica* came into fashion in Rome, is best answered with Lipsius,—most probably after the victory over Antiochus, when this, along with the other Asiatic luxuries, became known to the Romans. No mention is made of it earlier, and Lipsius infers from Plautus' silence, (especially *Aul.* iii. 5, where the requirements of the ladies are enumerated, and *muli, muliones, vehicula* are mentioned, while *lectica* is omitted), that in his time it had not come into use. It is also a question whether this scene (*Aul.*) entirely belongs to the poet, and whether, at the renewed representation of the piece, just as in *Epid.* ii. 2, several new fashions were not introduced; for in that case, the ignorance of the *lectica* might be extended also to the succeeding period, to which the additions to the play would belong. The *lectica* does not appear to be mentioned earlier than in the fragment of C. Gracchus, in Gell. x. 3, but in Cicero's time it was common, though the use of it was confined to the country and journeys, and women and invalids (Dio Cass. lvii. 17) alone used it in the city. By degrees, however, men also began to use it in the city, and what originally served merely as a distinction for certain individuals, became (Suet. *Claud.* 28), a general custom under the succeeding emperors.

Within the city, the use of carriages was even more restricted than that of the *lectica*, and the women who had obtained this privilege from the Senate, by sacrificing their golden ornaments,

were confined, in exercising it, to particular festive occasions, *sacra, ludi, dies festi, et profesti*, Liv. v. 25, and were nearly losing it again in consequence of the second Punic war; for the *lex Oppia*, which was sanctioned through the exigences of the times, laid down, *Ne qua mulier plus semunciam auri haberet, neu vestimento versicolori uteretur, neu juncto vehiculo in urbe oppidove, aut propius inde mille passus nisi sacrorum publicorum causa veheretur*. Liv. xxxiv. 1. The *dies festi* and *profesti*, therefore, were excluded. See Cato's speech, c. 3. This strict sumptuary law must have the more annoyed the Roman women, because those of the allies did not suffer any such restriction; it was, however, rescinded twenty years after, and from that period perhaps a greater licence by degrees crept in.

The use of carriages on a journey was more frequent, and no small number of names occur, though they give us but little insight into the peculiar nature of the different vehicles. The carriages found on monuments are much more frequently such as were adapted for festive processions, games or war, than for private use, or for a journey. It is only in the main points, and in the manner of usage, that we are enabled to shew how they differed from one another; any attempt at fixing their form, more accurately, must always be matter of conjecture.

We divide carriages into those having two and four wheels. To the first class belongs the *cisium*, probably a light uncovered cabriolet, used for quick journeys. The passages in Cicero are known. *Phil.* ii. 31. *Inde cisio celeriter ad urbem advectus domum venit capite involuto*, *Rosc. Am.* 7, *decem horis nocturnis sex et quinquaginta millia passuum cisiis pervolavit*. Hence also in the lampoon on Ventidius Bassus, *Catal.*, Virg. viii. 3, *Volantis impetus cisi*. It was no doubt drawn by two horses, or mules, although Auson. viii. 6, calls it a *trijuge*.

The *Essedum*, properly a British or Belgic war-car, had also two wheels, (see Ruperti *ad Juven.* iv. 126), but as early as Cicero's time was in frequent use for journeys, *Attic.* vi. 1: *Vedius venit mihi obviam cum duobus essedis et rheda equis juncta et lectica et familia magna*. He had just before termed the man a *magnus nebulo*, and afterwards calculates what he would have to pay, if Curio's proposed law were to pass. Also *Phil.* ii. 24. It was a small carriage, not essentially differing

from the *cisium*, and was also used especially for a journey. Hence Ovid says, when he invites Corinna to come to Sulmo (*Amor.* ii. 16, 49) :

Parvaeque quam primum rapientibus esseda mannis  
Ipsa per admissas concute lora jubas.

And Martial to his book, which Flaccus was to take with him to Spain (x. 104) :

Altam Bibilin et tuum Salonem  
Quinto forsitan essedo videbis.

We perceive from the coins stamped in honour of Julia and Agrippina, that the *carpentum* also was two-wheeled. See Sueton. *Cul.* 15. This vehicle is mentioned in the oldest times of Rome, (*Liv.* i. 34, 48 ; v. 25), although it certainly had not then the form in which it appears on these coins, and, according to the first passage referred to in Livy, could not at that time have had a cover. We must not always interpret the name strictly, and fashion appears to have effected great changes in the form of the carriages. Generally, we may assume of the later *carpentum*, that it was a covered state-carriage, though it was also used for travelling, *Prop.* iv. 8, 23 ; where it means a state-equipage, with silk curtains. *Comp. Juven.* viii. 147 ; ix. 132.

The *Pilentum* differed from it, as we see from Livy, v. 25 : *honoremque ob eam munificentiam ferunt matronis habitum, ut pilento ad sacra ludosque, carpentis festo profestoque uterentur.* And they are opposed to each other in Trebell. *Poll.* xxx. tyr. 29, and Lamprid. *Heliog.* 4. But whether the difference consisted in the *carpentum* being a close carriage, and the *pilentum* merely having a head on four supporters, will hardly admit of sure demonstration.

The *Covinus* was properly a Belgic carriage, armed with scythes, the shape of which Ginzrot seems to have given correctly, (*Plate* xxv. 1) ; but there were also conveyances at Rome, bearing the same name, and possibly, like our cars, perfectly closed on three sides, and only open in front. There was no seat for the *mulio*, but the person sitting in the carriage drove the horses or mules himself, as we see from a neat epigram in Martial, xii. 24 :

O jucunda, covine, solitudo,  
Carruca magis essedoque gratum

Facundi mihi munus Æliani :  
 Hic mecum licet, hic, Juvence, quidquid  
 In buccam tibi venerit, loquaris.—  
 Nusquam mulio; mannuli tacebunt, etc.

The description of its form, given above, is rightly inferred by the poet's praise of its retirement and privacy.

Of the larger carriages with four wheels, the *Rheda*, or *reda*, is first to be mentioned. See Boettig. *Sab.* ii. 41. Like the *cisium*, the *essedum*, and the *covinus*, it is said to have been of foreign origin; but that is of little consequence, as the Romans no doubt made it according to their own ideas, and it perhaps denotes the travelling-carriage generally. In such a *rheda* Clodius met Milo, (*Cic. Mil.* 10, 20), and it appears to have been the carriage in general use when a man travelled with his family and baggage. We see from *Juv.* iii. 10, that it was arranged for this last mentioned purpose, *dum tota domus rheda componitur una*; and *Mart.* iii. 47, where Bassus travels into the country, *plena in rheda, omnes beati copias trahens ruris*. It was mostly covered, as was necessary for a long journey. That there were *rhedæ* with two wheels, does not appear clear, as they would then no longer deserve the name.

To the same class belongs the *Carruca*, which was perhaps only shorter and more elegant. The name does not appear to have been adopted till late, and Martial confounds it with the *rheda*, (*iii.* 47), where we first read, *plena Bassus ibat in rheda*, and then, *nec otiosus ibat ante carrucam, sed tuta fœno cursor ova portabat*.

The *Petorritum* also belongs to this class, according to Festus and Gellius, of Gallic origin, as was the name, *petorritum est non ex Græco dimidiatum, sed totum transalpinis; nam est vox Gallica*. *Gell.* xv. 30. Heindorf, *ad Horat. Sat.* i. 6, 103, adduces that in the Celtic lexicon of Bullet is to be found *petoar*, or *pedwar* (four), and *rit* (rad) wheel. According to Schol. *Cruq. ad Hor. Epist.* ii. 1, 192, it was a carriage for the servants, *pilenta vehicula matronarum, sicut petorrita famularum*, and this agrees very well with the first passage, (*Sat.* i. 6, 103), *plures calones atque caballi pascendi ducenda petorrita*; but we must not affirm that they were used exclusively for this purpose.

[ The *Basterna* was something between the carriage and the

*lectica*, a litter borne by two mules, one before and one behind, going in shafts. See concerning it, Salm. *ad Lamprid. Heliog.* 21.

The ornaments of the vehicles were all in keeping with the luxury displayed in other matters. Pliny, (xxxiv. 17), declaims against this extravagance: *Cœpere deinde et esseda, et vehicula, et petorrita exornare, similique modo ad aurea quoque, non modo argentea stitacula inanis luxuria pervenit, quæque in scyphis cerni prodigium erat, hæc in vehiculis atteri cultus vocatur.* Such carriages were sometimes of immense value, as Mart. iii. 72, relates :

*Aurea quod fundi pretio carruca paratur.*

Claudius, as censor, considered it right to do away with such an article of luxury. Suet. *Claud.* 16: *essedum argenteum sumtuose fabricatum ac venale ad Sigillaria redimi concidique coram imperavit.* Among the Etrurians it was customary to ornament the carriages with plates of embossed metal, as bronze, (see Inghirami, *Monum. Etruschi.* iii. 18, 23), or of silver, (see Millingen, *Uned. Monum.* ii. 14.) Probably the *essedum argenteum* was ornamented in the same manner.

Their manner of connecting the animals with the carriage was quite different from ours, as they did not draw by means of traces, but by a yoke fastened to the front of the pole, and lying on their necks. This yoke was very various in form, being often only a simple wooden bow, but generally having two rounded hollows, into which the neck fitted. See the illustration in Ginzrot, i. tab. iii. b.—iv. b. If the carriage were drawn only by one horse or mule, it went in shafts, though even then a yoke was placed on it. It was only when three or four animals were employed, that the outside ones drew with traces, and they were then called *funales*. Suet. *Tib.* vi.: *Actiaco triumpho currum Augusti comitatus est, sinistriori funali equo, cum Marcellus Octaviæ filius dexteriori veheretur.*

Sometimes horses, at others mules, were used as beasts of burden. Of the former, the small Gallic race (*manni*, *mannuli*, and *burricchi*) was especially esteemed, on account of their speed, (Salm. *ad Vopisc. Carin.* 20; Schol. Cruq. *ad Hor. Epod.* iv. 14. See Mitscherl. *ad Hor.* supra). It is evident that these

*manni* were an article of luxury, and the possession of them indicated a man of wealth, from the indignant words, *Sectus flagellis hic triumphalibus Præconis ad fastidium Arat Falerni mille fundi jugera, et Appiam mannis terit.*

The Romans did not always drive their own equipages; for in Rome, and also in the smaller towns of Italy, there were plenty of hack carriages, and there are many allusions from which we may conclude, that on the greater roads there were stations where they changed carriage and horses. Scheffer has already drawn attention to the fact, that in the passage of Cicero, *pro Rosc. Am.* 7, *decem horis nocturnis LVI millia passuum cisiis pervolavit*, the plural, *cisiis*, implies a change of carriages; and it is only in this sense that we can understand what Suetonius says of Cæsar, (57): *Longissimas vias incredibili celeritate confecit, expeditus meritoria rheda, centena passuum millia in singulos dies*; for how could this have been effected with the same horses? In the same manner, Mart. x. 104, seqq.,

*Hispanæ pete Tarraconis arces.  
Illinc te rota tollet, et citatus  
Altam Bibilin et tuum Salonem  
Quinto forsitan essedo videbis.*

is also to be taken.

Five days' journey may certainly be meant, but with a change of carriages, a fresh *vetturino* being most likely hired at different points of the journey. It was in such *rhedæ* that Horace performed a part of his journey in the company of Mæcenæ.

We can recall no instance, in the time of Nero, where mention is made of travelling carriages being driven in the city. On the contrary, Seneca, (*Epist.* 56), says: *In iis quæ me sine avocatione circumstrepunt essedas trans-currentes pono, et fabrum inquilinum, at serrarium vicinum, aut hunc, qui ad metam sudantem tabulas experitur et tibias, nec cantat, sed exclamat.* That he is speaking generally, and does not mean Baia, but Rome, is demonstrated by the mention of the *meta sudans*, near which his house was situated. So also in Juv. iii. 237, *rhedarum transitus arcto vicorum in flexu*, is named as one of the many reasons why one could not sleep in Rome.

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## EXCURSUS II. SCENE IV.

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### THE INNS.

IN the present day, when a traveller of the rank of Gallus arrives at a good sized town, more than one hotel presents itself where obsequious waiters are ready to receive his carriage, and elegantly furnished apartments are at his disposal,—nothing in short is omitted for his entertainment: and even in the smaller towns the same rule applies. Matters were, however, quite different among the ancients generally, and in Italy also. When there is no call for any particular branch of industry, no necessity for its cultivation is felt, and it is evident that the number and accommodations of the inns of modern times, have been considerably improved by the increased propensity for travelling. The ancients, however, were quite unused to the frequent arrival and departure of large numbers of strangers, and when they did travel, had every where, (especially if Roman citizens), private connections enough to be relieved from the necessity of stopping at an inn.

Hence all establishments of this nature were on an exceedingly low scale, and, properly speaking, only public houses for the lower classes, to whom, naturally, a friend's house was not always open. But we should be going too far in supposing that respectable people also did not, under particular circumstances, make use of such establishments. Zell, in his essay, *Die Wirthshäuser d. Alten*. gives by far too low a character of the Roman inns. Indeed, he has only depicted one side of the tavern life, and spoken merely of the *cauponæ* and *popinæ* in Rome itself; whereas, in order to become acquainted with the use the Romans made of the inns, we ought not so much to consider those in Rome, as those to be met with on a journey. It is easily conceivable that the Roman of distinction did not spend his evening at places of public entertainment as we do; that there were no clubs or concerts, &c., and that he would never dream of lounging about in cook-shops and wine taverns, places in as little estimation at Rome as at Athens, where Socrates used to boast of him-

self: *quod nunquam in tabernam conspexerat*. Petr. 140. And yet as public life fell into decay, and people became more and more indifferent to state matters, and rather avoided than sought the Forum, the more polite classes had also places, where they could pass their idle hours, though of course these were quite different from *popinæ*. We must, however, first consider those inns which presented themselves to the traveller on the high road.

Of course even those most extensively connected, could not meet with the houses of acquaintances on every high road to stop at, and therefore were sometimes obliged to go to houses of public entertainment. We need not adduce in particular, the well-known passage relating to Greece, in Cicero, *Div. i. 27: Cum duo quidam Arcades familiares iter una facerent et Megaram venissent, alterum ad cauponem devertisse, ad hospitem alterum*; or the very interesting account of a murder at an inn, in Cic. *Inv. ii. 4*, for we are not acquainted with the rank of the persons alluded to, nor do we require, in the consideration of Roman life, to draw analogies from Greece. Let us only follow the route of Horace, in the suite of Mæcenas, to Brundisium, which he so humorously describes, (*Sat. i. 5*), and we shall find him putting up at inns more than once. The lines of the commencement,

*Egressum magna me excepit Aricia Roma  
Hospitio modico,*

may be thus understood, for he who stopped at the house of a *caupo* was also called by this word *hospes*, and neither a state-entertainer nor a private friend is meant, for Horace would have mentioned these more particularly; and, besides, *hospitio modico* would have been no great compliment. See Plaut. *Pæn. iii. 3, 60*, and *v. 75, 80*. It was doubtless a *caupona* in Forum Appii at which Horace could eat nothing, on account of the badness of the water, although his companions were less particular. When he says of the next morning after the night-voyage, *Millia tum pransi tria repimus*, a breakfast in a *taberna* is probably alluded to, which might have been either in the vicinity of the temple of Feronia, or further on. Matters doubtless assumed a different aspect after he joined Mæcenas, who, with his suite, was entertained every where by the autho-



rities, although they passed the night at a place, which cannot well mean any thing else than a *caupona*, v. 77 :

Incipit ex illo montes Appulia notos  
Ostentare mihi, quos torret Atabulus, et quos  
Nunquam erepsemus, nisi nos vicini Trivici  
Villa recepisset, lacrimoso non sine fumò.

for the delicate anecdote in the context, shews that this could not have been the villa of a friend, but a house of public resort. Possibly the way was too heavy to allow of the travellers reaching any other place that day, and they therefore stopped at the villa which had a *caupona*.

But we need not adduce such suppositions, as we have clearer proofs. Such, for instance, as the suggestion to Bullatius, that if we meet with much that is disagreeable any where, we must not immediately condemn the whole place, but seek out some other quarters, just as the traveller who was forced to stop at a *caupona* of the *Via Appia*, as a refuge from the weather, would not wish to spend his whole life in an inn, in order not to venture on the road again. *Epist.* i. 11, 11 :

Sed neque qui Capua Romam petit, imbre lutoque  
Conspersus, volet in caupona vivere.

And Propert. iv. 8, 19, when Cynthia, travelling with a favoured lover, in an elegant equipage to Lanuvium, puts up in a *taberna* :

Appia, dic quæso, quantum te teste triumphum  
Egerit effuses per tua saxa rotis.  
Turpis in arcana sonuit quum rixa taberna ;  
Si sine me, famæ non sine labe meæ.

Again, Cicero, *pro Cluent.* 59 : *Atque etiam, ut nobis renuntiatur, hominem multorum hospitum, A. Binnium quendam, coponem de Via Latina subornatis, qui sibi a Cluentio servisque ejus in taberna sua manus allatas esse dicat.* The instance of Antony need not be advanced. *Cic. Phil.* ii. 31 : *Cum hora diei decima fere ad Saxa Rubra venisset, delituit in quadam cauponula ;* nor that of Petronius, the scene of whose narration is chiefly laid in inns. See cap. xv. 19, 80. One passage shall suffice, (124) : *tandem Crotona intravimus, ubi quidem parvo deversorio refectioni postero die amplioris fortunæ domum quærentes incidimus in turbam, etc.* *Comp. Hor. Epist.* i. 17, 8 : *Si te pulvis strepitusque rotarum, si lædet caupona.*

Such inns, then, were not only to be found in the towns, but

also standing isolated along the roads, as on the *Via Appia*, not far from the Pontine Marshes, where the *Tres tabernæ*, mentioned Πραξ. τ. Ἀποστ. xxviii. 15: Κάκειθεν οἱ ἀδελφοὶ ἀκούσαντες τὰ περὶ ἡμῶν ἐξῆλθον εἰς ἀπάντησιν ἡμῖν ἄχρις Ἀππίου φόρου καὶ Τριῶν ταβερνῶν. Other houses were naturally built about them, and thus arose a hamlet, which obtained the name of the inn.

Such taverns were probably attached to the various villas along the road, for the profit of the owners, as they thus disposed of the wine produced on their estate. Hence Vitruv. vi. 8: *Qui autem fructibus rusticis serviunt, in eorum vestibulis stabula, tabernæ sunt faciendæ*. Varr. R. R. i. 2. 23: *Si ager secundum viam et opportunus viatoribus locus, ædificandæ tabernæ diversoriæ*. Suet. Claud. 38: (*Senatorem relegavit*) *quod in ædilitate inquilinos prædiorum suorum contra velitum cocta vendentes multasset, villicumque intervenientem flagellasset*. The *popinæ* were restricted to the sale of drink only, under Tiberius; the interdiction, however, did not continue long in force, but was removed under Claudius (Dio Cass. lx. 6); again under Nero (Suet. Ner. 16), *Interdictum, ne quid in popinis cocti præter legumina, aut olera veniret, cum antea nullum non obsonii genus proponeretur*; (Dio Cass. lxii. 14, says, πλὴν λαχάνων καὶ ἑτωνούς); and again by Vespasian (Dio Cass. lxvi. 10). To this is also to be referred, Mart. iii. 58:

Non segnis albo pallet otio copo.

The name of such inns is *caupona*, *taberna*, *taberna diversoria*. Plaut. *Menæchm.* ii. 3, 81, where Menæchmeus, who has just arrived from the ship, on making use of the opportunity offered to him, from his being confounded with his brother, says to Messenio, as he goes to breakfast with the *Hetaira Erotium*:

Abduc istos in tabernam actutum diversoriam:

also similarly, *diversorium*, or perhaps more correctly, *deversorium*. See Drakenb. *ad Liv.* xlv. 43. Val. Max. i. 7, *ext.* 10, in the story above quoted from Cicero, names it *taberna meritoria*, and in Martial, vi. 94, the same is expressed by *stabulum*. And often thus in the *Dig.* and in Apul.

Similar houses of entertainment doubtless existed in Rome, but were only used by persons of the lower orders, who chanced to be there; for strangers of importance readily found an *hos-*

*pitium* in a private house. For the population of the city itself, there were plenty of places where refreshments were sold. The general name for these establishments was *taberna* and *caupona*; the first denotes generally every booth, not only for the sale of wares, but those of the *tonsores*, the *medici* and *argentarii* also. *Caupona*, on the contrary, is only used for such places where wine particularly, and other necessities were sold; it still remains to be proved that *caupo* denotes every retailer. Whenever the *caupo* is mentioned, he is the seller of the necessities of life, especially wine; hence the joke of Martial, about the rain in the vintage, i. 57 :

Continuis vexata madet vindemia nimbis.

Non potes, ut cupias, vendere, caupo, merum :

and hence the modest poet wishes to have for life, besides the *lanius*, a *caupo*, in order to be insured a supply of meat and drink, ii. 48. The *popinæ*, cookshops, were a particular class, in which cooked meat chiefly, but drinks also were sold; whilst the *caupo* mostly sold his refreshments to be taken out of the shop, the *popa*, (the occupier of the *popina*), sold his viands for consumption in the *taberna*, and drew wine which was drunk on the premises. Cic. *Mil.* 24 : *Quin etiam audiendus sit popa Licinius nescio quis de circo maximo : servos Milonis apud se ebrios factos sibi confessos esse, etc.*; then, *sed mirabar tamen credi popæ*. Originally, only persons of the lowest class and slaves were to be found taking their seats on the chairs of the *taberna*, and to do so was considered unseemly. The neat epigram of Martial, (v. 10), alludes to this :

Infusum sibi nuper a patrone  
Plenum, Maxime, centies Syriacus  
In sellariolis vagus popinis  
Circa balnea quatuor peregit.

Even if we were disposed to assign to the passage another meaning, and compare the *sellariolæ popinæ* with the *lecticariola*, xii. 58), the following verses clear up all doubt as to the meaning :

O quanta est gula, centies comesse !  
Quanto major adhuc, nec accubare !

In later times, such eating-houses were the lounge of idle and disorderly-living persons of the better classes, and it is clear that good entertainment was to be met with in them, from Sy-

ricus having squandered away in a short time *centies* sesterces; for which no doubt pleasures of all sorts were to be had.

*Ganeum*, or *ganea*, is so far different, that every *popina* may certainly be called a *ganeum*, though not *vice versa*. The *ganeum* means generally only a place for secret debauchery, whence Livy twice (xxvi. 2, and *Epit.* i. c.) joins it with *lustrum*.

What Plautus (*Cur.* ii. 13, 10; *Rud.* ii. 6, 45; *Trin.* iv. 3, 6;) calls *thermopolium*, is nothing more than the *popina*, as we see from the imperial interdicts which are cited.

Salmasius *ad Spart. Hadr.* 22, says that *tabernæ* in Rome were never opened before the ninth hour. Although we have not the authority of any old author, to quote in opposition to this assertion, it appears scarcely credible in itself, as doubtless many took their *prandium* there, and there are several passages which cannot at all be reconciled with it. In the case of the baths and *lupanaria*, (see the article on *The Baths*), it is very natural that a fixed hour was appointed, before which they could not be opened; but as regards the eating-houses, no proof has been adduced, nor does such a restriction appear admissible. Passages in opposition to it are Plaut. *Most.* iv. 2, 52:

Vide sis, ne forte ad merendam quopiam devorteris,  
Atque ibi meliuscule, quam satis fuerit biberis.

*Menæchm.* v. 1, 3:

Immersit aliquo sese credo in ganeum:

but it is about mid-day, and Menæchmeus is himself just coming from *prandium*. *Pseud.* ii. 2, 63, Harpax says:

Ego devortor extra portam huc in tabernam tertiam.

and v. 69, *ubi prandero dabo aperam somno*. The most decisive proof is to be found in Plaut. *Pæn. Prol.* 40:

Et hoc quoque etiam, quod pæne oblitus fui,  
Dum ludi fiunt, in popinam pedisequi  
Irruptionem facite nunc dum occasio est  
Nunc dum scribilitæ æstuant, occurrite.

and if we are not inclined to attach much weight to this passage, as being a joke, let us add thereto an actual fact. Cic. *Pis.* 6: *Meministine, cænum, cum ad te quinta fere hora cum C. Pisone venissem, nescio quo e gurgustio te prodire, involuto capite, soleatum? et cum isto ore fætido teterrimam nobis popinam inhalasses, excusatione te uti valetudinis, quod diceres, vinolentis te quibusdam medicaminibus solere curari?*

The whole class of innkeepers was despised in Rome, and it is very easy to perceive why. When *Hor. Sat.* i. 1, 29, calls them *perfidī* and *maligni*, (5, 4), it is 'because people of this kind were infamous in Greece and Rome, for cheating, adulteration of wares, and fraud of every description; so that in Greek, *καπη-λεΐν* means also to adulterate.' Heind. *ad I.* i. 29. The *popina* also exhibited generally, if not always, the union of all kinds of debauchery. There were perhaps among the rest exceedingly dirty holes, as may fairly be expected from the character of the company. Comp. Stockmann, *De popinis Rom.* L. 1805.

Respectable people therefore did not, at least till a later period, enter such houses or booths; but they were not without places of social entertainment, for not unfrequently many assembled in the *medicinæ*, *tonstrinæ*, and such like places for their recreation. See Salmas. *ad Plaut. Epid.* ii. 2, 14; and Heindorf *on Hor. Sat.* i. 7, 3. At a later period it was customary to congregate in the *tabernæ librariæ*, and in the *gymnasia*, to converse on all manner of subjects. Gell, v. 4: *Apud Sigillaria forte in libraria ego et Julius Paulus poetaconsederamus.* Ibid. xiii. 30: *Laudabat venditabatque se nuper quispiam in libraria sedens.* But the public baths were the chief places of assembling.

## EXCURSUS I. SCENE V.

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### THE GAME OF BALL AND OTHER GYMNASTIC EXERCISES.

THE daily bath, and previous to it strong exercise, for the purpose of causing perspiration, were inseparable, in the minds of the Romans, from the idea of a regular and healthy mode of life. They had a multitude of exercises, more or less severe, which were regularly gone through every day before the bath, thus rendering the body strong and active, and exciting a greater appetite for the meal that was to follow.

Of course these exercises were confined to the male sex, as gymnastics were considered unbecoming and indecent for women, (Mart. vii. 67, 4; Juven. vi. 246, 419), and in Greece the Spartan unfeminineness (*libidinosæ Lacedæmonis palæstræ*, Mart. iv. 55, 6), afforded great cause for ridicule. See Aristoph. *Lysistr.* 81; although Propert. iii. 14, and Ovid, *Her.* xvi. 149, for reasons easily understood, dwell with pleasure on this *virginea palæstra*.

These antique gymnastics, or rather those of the Romans, which will alone form the subject of our present inquiry, differed in many respects from those of modern times, in which they are confined to the period of youth. In Rome, on the contrary, there was not the slightest idea of impropriety when the *consul*, or *triumphator*, the world-ruling Cæsar himself, sought in the game of ball, or other kind of gymnastics, a wholesome exertion for both body and mind; and they who omitted such exercises were accused of indolence. Suetonius thus characterises Augustus' increasing attachment to ease: *Exercitationes campestris equorum et armorum statim post civilia bella omisit, et ad pilam primo folliculumque transiit: mox nihil aliud quam vectabatur et deambulabat.* Aug. 83. No other passages need be adduced, for of all the men of consequence at Rome, few only (as Cicero, *pro Arch.* 6), formed exceptions to the general rule.

One of the most favourite exercises for young and old, the advantages of which have been extolled by Galen in a treatise

περὶ μικρᾶς σφαίρας, was the game of ball, which from its frequent mention, and the various ways of playing it, deserves a particular exposition. The passages referring to it will not, however, admit of our arriving at a distinct idea of the method of play, as is the case in most descriptions of such matters, which must have been supposed to have been known to contemporaries.

Roman authors mention numerous varieties of the game of ball, as *pila* simply, *follis* or *folliculus*, *trigon*, *paganica*, *harpastum*, *sparsiva*, in addition to which we have the expressions, *datatim*, *expulsim*, *raptim ludere*; *geminare*, *revocare*, *reddere pilam*. But it seems that we can only admit of three different kinds of ball; *pila*, in the more confined sense, the small regular ball, which however might be harder, or more elastic, for different kinds of play; *follis*, the great *ballon*, as the name indicates, merely filled with air (like our foot-ball) and *paganica*. Concerning the use of the last we have the least information; Martial mentions it only in two passages, vii. 32:

Non pila, non follis, non te paganica thermis  
Præparat, aut nudi stipitis ictus hebes.

and xiv. 45:

Hæc quæ difficili target paganica pluma,  
Folle minus laxa est, et minus arta pila.

As the *paganica* is opposed in both places to the *follis* and the *pila*, and no fourth kind is mentioned in addition to them, we must suppose that one or other of these three balls was used in all varieties of the game. The words *paganica*, *folle minus laxa*, *minus arta pila*, are incorrectly explained by Rader and Mercurialis, as applying to the contents of the ball. The use of both adjectives leaves no doubt that the size of the ball is spoken of, and in this respect it stood between the *follis* and *pila*. No doubt it also so far differed from the former, that it was stuffed with feathers, and was consequently somewhat heavier; this is all that we know about it. The poet gives no hint concerning the origin of the name, nor about the game for which it was used. On an intaglio in Beger, (*Thes. Brand.* 139), a naked male figure sits holding in each hand a ball, supposed to be the *paganica*, because apparently too small for the *follis*, and too large for the *pila*, for they are not clasped within the hand. But this is evidently a very insecure argument, and, as regards the game, nothing would follow from it.

The *follis*, the great but light ball, or *ballon*, was struck by the fist or arm. It is uncertain whether the words of Trachalio, in Plaut. *Rud.* iii. 4, 16, *Extemplo, hercle, ego te follem pugillatorium faciam, et pendentem incursabo pugnīs*, refer to this; for a distended skin may also be understood, by which the *pugiles* practised themselves, as the *gladiatores* did with a post. If we may trust the copy given by Mercurialis of a coin of Gordian III., the right arm was sometimes armed with a kind of glove, to assist in striking. The game did not require any very severe exertion, on which account Martial (xiv. 47) says:

Ite procul juvenes; mitis mihi convenit ætas

Folle decet pueros ludere, folle senes.

The diminutive *folliculus* is sometimes used, but there is not sufficient ground for supposing it to have been the *paganica*; *pila* and *follis*, however, denote in general the whole science of sphæristic, and therefore included the *paganica*, as being intermediate between them.

The other games were all played with the *pila*, and whenever *follis* and *paganica* are not expressly designated, we must always understand the small ball. Hence Martial, in the *Aphoretæ*, has no particular epigram upon it; for it is already meant under the *trigon* and *harpastum*. The special mention of both these appears to be grounded on the difference of the games, of which we shall hereafter speak.

Before we proceed to discuss the regular games, the expressions *datatim* and *expulsim ludere* must be explained. By the first seems to be meant the most simple use of the *pila*, in which two persons opposite each other, either threw a ball alternately to one another, or perhaps each threw a ball simultaneously, and caught the other thrown to him. This took place even in the streets, as we see from Plaut. (*Curcul.* ii. 3, 17), where the parasite says threateningly to all who meet him:

Tum isti qui ludunt datatim servi scurrarum in via,

Et datores, et factores, omnes subdam sub solum.

Comp. Nov. ap. Non. ii. 268; the commentators Burm. ad *Petr.* 27; and especially Gronovius' note to the passage in Plautus. We find this simple kind of sphæristic, though in conjunction with orchestic, in the case of Homer's Phæacians. *Odys.* viii. 374. And the words in the fragment of Damox-



enos, in Athen. i. 26, ἡ λαμβάνων τὴν σφαῖραν ἢ διδούς, appear to mean the same thing. But Seneca, (*de Benef.* ii. 17), certainly alludes to such throwing and catching, (*Pilam*) *cadere non est dubium, aut mittentis vitio, aut accipientis. Tunc cursum suum servat, ubi inter manus utriusque apte ab utroque et jactata et excepta versatur*; this will be made still more clear by the passages to be quoted below.

But although this expression can be explained without difficulty, the second, *expulsim ludere*, is obscure, if we are to understand it as a special variety of the game. Varro says, *Non. ii. 281: Videbis in foro ante lanienas pueros pila expulsim ludere*; and similarly in Petron. 27, we have *lusu expellente*. From neither of these passages is it clear what kind of game can be meant; it is certain only that the notion of striking or striking back, without catching it, is not necessarily contained in *expellere*. This is apparent from its being also used of *trigon*. Mart. xiv. 46:

Si me mobilibus scis expulsare sinistris,  
Sum tua: si nescis, rustice, redde pilam.

But it is certain that the *trigon* was meant to be caught. Still more erroneous is the opinion of Wüstemann, (*Pal. d. Scaur.* 192), that the ball was struck with a racquet. It rests on a misunderstood passage of Ovid's *Art. Am.* iii. 361:

Reticulo pilæ leves fundantur aperto;  
Nec, nisi quam tolles, ulla movenda pila est.

A glance at these words is sufficient to shew that they contain no allusion to sphaeristic, and that *reticulum* means an open net or purse, into which a number of balls were shaken, in order to be taken out again one by one, during which process, no other ball, but that which was to be taken out, might be moved.

Apart from the passage in Varro, from which we are not able to gather the meaning of the word *expellere*, *expulsare*, seems (at least in *trigon*) only to signify generally the throwing of the ball. So also Seneca uses the stronger expression, *repercutere*, (see the passage quoted above). *Pila utcumque venerit, manus illam expedita et agilis repercutiet. Si cum tirone negotium est, non tam rigide, nec tam excusse, sed languidius et in ipsam ejus dirigentes manum, remisse occurramus*. Here he speaks of the *datatim ludere*, as indeed is requisite from the nature of the

comparison; for *dare et accipere beneficium* and *mittere et excipere pilam*, are opposed to each other. It is quite clear from the following passage, that *repercutere* does not, as might be supposed, signify to strike back, and that on the contrary, a game between two only, in which the ball was thrown back and caught, is mentioned, (32): *Sicut in lusu est aliquid, pilam scite ac diligenter excipere, sed non dicitur bonus lusor, nisi qui apte et expeditè remisit, quam exceperat*; and immediately after, *nec tamen ideo non bonum lusorem dicam, qui pilam, ut oportebat, exceperit si per ipsum mora, quominus remitteret, non fuit.*

Amongst the more intricate kinds of play, the *trigon*, *pila trigonalis*, appears to have been by far the most popular and common, although it is not till a later period that we obtain intelligence of its existence. The name itself appears to explain the nature of the game, in which three players were required, who stood in a triangle, ἐν τριγώνῳ. We know simply that the expert players threw and caught only with the left hand, as Martial says in more than one epigram; for instance, in the above mentioned *Aphoretum*:

Si me mobilibus scis expulsare sinistris,  
Sum tua: si nescis, rustice, redde pilam.

Also (vii. 72, 9):

Sic palmam tibi de trigone nudo  
Unctæ det favor arbiter coronæ,  
Nec laudet Polybi magis sinistras.

The passage xii. 83, where the parasite Menogenes is laughed at by the poet, because he caught the ball with the right, as well as with the left hand, might almost lead us to the supposition that each person numbered the balls caught, for it runs thus:

Captabit tepidum dextra lævaque trigonem,  
Imputet exceptas ut tibi sæpe pilas.

He hoped by this means to obtain a claim on the table of the person playing with him. The word *tepidum*, applied to the *trigon* here, (and iv. 19, 5), doubtless refers to the heating nature of the game; but we must not suppose that it means the ball warmed in the hand, but by a usual metonymy of the effect produced. No artistic representations of such sphæristic have come down to us. That which Mercurialis copies from coins of Marcus Aurelius, and a perfect resemblance of which is

to be found in a painting on a cieling, (see *Descr. d. bains de Titus*, pl. 17), is another game with several balls.

The *harpastum* was unquestionably a more severe exercise, the chief passage respecting which is to be found in Athenæus, (i. 25, 26), with the fragment of Antiphanes. Though there may be some obscurity respecting it, it is certain that a ball was thrown amongst the players, of which each one tried to obtain possession; for he says, *περὶ μικρᾶς σφαίρας* (c. ii. 902): *ὅταν γὰρ συνιστάμενοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ ἀποκωλύοντες ὑφαρπάσαι τὸν μεταξὺ διαπονῶσι, μέγιστον αὐτὸ καὶ σφοδρότατον καθίσταται, πολλοῖς μὲν τραχηλισμοῖς πολλαῖς δ' ἀντιλήψεσι παλαίστικαῖς ἀναμεμιγμένον*. Hence in Martial, (iv. 19), *harpasta pulverulenta*. It is worthy of remark that not only there, but also xiv. 48, *Harpasta*,

*Hæc rapit Antæi velox de pulvere draucus,  
Grandia qui vano colla labore facit.*

the plural is used, whilst *follis*, *paganica*, *trigonalis*, are in the singular. We may almost believe therefore that sometimes, if not always, the contest was for several balls. It is moreover very probable that the proverb in Plaut. *Truc.* iv. 1, 8, *mea pila est*, may refer to such a game. That this game was boisterous enough, is evident from Athenæus; hence Martial, too, mentions participation in it as one of the improprieties of Philænis, vii. 67: *Harpasto quoque subligata ludit*.

The verses of Saleius Bassus, *Paneg. in Pis.* 173,

*Nec tibi mobilitas minor est, si forte volantem  
Aut geminare pilam juvat, aut revocare cadentem,  
Et non sperato fugientem reddere gestu;*

cannot be referred either to the *harpastum* or the *trigon*. Here, in point of fact, a striking of the ball backwards and forwards seems to be spoken of, but whether the *paganica* be alluded to or not, we shall not attempt to determine. In no case is the *follis* meant; for it was not caught, and yet the words *revocare cadentem* (*in manus*) signify it. But *geminare pilam* and *reddere fugientem* appear to be understood of striking, as *Manil.* v. 165:

*Ille pilam celeri fugientem reddere planta,  
Et pedibus pensare manus, et ludere saltu.*

With just as little probability can we venture to explain the *pila sparsiva* in Petron. 27, as even the reading is doubtful. Thus much only is apparent, that the game was played by many

persons, and with many balls. Besides these most usual, and therefore to us better known games, it is very natural to suppose that there were many other varieties.

Another species of gymnastics was the swinging of the *halteres*, weights, which, in practising to leap, were held in the hands. See Welcker, *Zeitschr. f. Gesch. u. Ausleg. alt. Kunst.* i. 238. Representations of this exercise are to be found on gems and in paintings. See Tassie, *Catal.* pl. 46, 7978; *Descr. d. bains de Tit.* pl. 17. Paus. i. 25, 26, ii. 3, adduces statues with *halteres*; and on the base of a restored statue of a boxer, in the Dresden collection, (Aug. t. 109), hang the *halteres* as well as the *cestus*. In the Roman gymnastics, these masses of lead served not only as springing-weights, but were held in the hand and swung in various directions with the arms. This bodily exercise is mentioned by Seneca, *Ep.* 15: *Sunt exercitationes et faciles et breves. Cursus et cum aliquo pondere manus motæ*; and (*Ep.* 56) where he is describing the noise in the *sphæristerium* of the baths of Baia: *Cum fortiores exercentur et manus plumbo graves jactant, cum aut laborant, aut laborantem imitantur, gemitus audio.* Mart. xiv. 19, also mentions them:

Quid pereunt stulto fortes haltere lacerti ?

Exercet melius vinea fossa viros.

and Philænis says, (vii. 67, 6): *gravesque draucis halteras facili rotat lacerto.* Comp. Juven. vi. 420. Mercurialis, in explanation, has given several copies of *halteristæ*, taken from gems, and says: *ut possit certior formæ hujusce exercitationis notitia haberi, adponendas curavimus halteristarum imagines, quas ex gemmis antiquis sculplis acceptas ad nos misit Pyrrhus Ligorius*; which words are expressly quoted that the whole copy may not be considered a mere fancy, as unfortunately is often the case with similar representations. Resting upon this, in Becker's *Nachtr. ad Aug.* 429, the Dresden *sphæristæ*, as they are called, are surmised to have been rather *halteristæ*.

A third sort of exercise was the sham fight with the *palus*, a post fixed in the ground, and against which they fought with wicker-work shield, and wooden sword, as against a living adversary. This game served originally as practice for the *tirones*, in order that they might acquire a knowledge of the use of their weapons. Veget. i. 11, gives us a full explanation of it: *An-*

*tiqui, sicut invenitur in libris, hoc genere exercuere tirones. Scuta de vimine in modum cratium corrotundata texebant, ita ut duplum pondus cratis haberet, quam scutum publicum habere consuevit, iidemque clavas ligneas dupli æque ponderis pro gladiis tironibus dabant, eoque modo non tantum mane, sed etiam post meridiem exercebantur ad palos. Palorum autem usus non solum militibus, sed etiam gladiatoribus plurimum prodest. A singulis tironibus singuli pali defigebantur in terram, ita ut nutare non possent, et sex pedibus eminent. Contra illum palum, tanquam contra adversarium, tiro cum crate illa et clava velut cum gladio se exercebat et scuto, ut nunc quasi caput aut faciem peteret, nunc lateribus minaretur, interdum contenderet poplites et crura succidere, accederet, recederet, assultaret, insiliret, et, quasi præsentem adversarium, sic palum omni impetu, omni bellandi arte tentaret. In qua meditatione servabatur illa cautela, ut ita tiro ad inferendum vulnus insurgeret, ne qua parte ipse pateret ad plagam.* This kind of fight was however practised not only as a study, but also for exercise previous to the bath. This is what Martial means (vii. 32, 8),

Non pila, non follis, non te paganica thermis  
Præparat, aut nudi stipitis ictus hebes:

where *stipes* means simply the post, and *ictus hebes*, the wooden sword. So also Juven. vi. 247, in reprobation of the vicious habit of women practising such gymnastics:

Endromidas Tyrias et femineum ceroma  
Quis nescit? vel quis non vidit vulnere pali,  
Quem cavat adsiduis sudibus scutoque lacessit.

Comp. v. 267, where Lipsius, *Mil. Rom.* v. 14; *Saturn.* i. 15, would read *rudibus* instead of *sudibus*.

Besides these, especially in the public baths, the more severe exercises of the *palæstra*, as the *lucta* (whence frequent mention of the *ceroma*, and *flavescere happe*) the *discus*, &c. were practised.

Running and leaping were very common exercises. Augustus himself, after reducing his gymnastics to *ambulatio* alone, used to do this. Suet. *Aug.* 83, *deambulabat, ita ut in extremis spatiis subsultim decurreret.* Seneca, *Ep.* 15, divides leaping into three kinds, *saltus, vel ille qui corpus in altum levat, vel ille qui in longum mittit, vel ille, ut ita dicam, saliaris, aut ut*

*contumeliosius dicam, fullonius.* The latter was not so much to be called leaping, as a species of dancing after the fashion of the *salii*.

Old or indolent people, who wanted either the power or the inclination for more severe exercises, restricted themselves to the *ambulatio* or *gestatio* only, partly on horseback, partly in a carriage or on the *lectica*. Still there are many instances in which men of advanced age did not renounce the game of ball. Pliny relates of Spurinna, *Ep. iii. 1: Ubi hora balinei nuntiata est—in sole, si caret vento, ambulat nudus. Deinde movetur pila vehementer et diu; nam hoc quoque exercitationis genere pugnat cum senectute.*

For the purpose of practising these gymnastics, they had in their own residence a *sphæristerium*, which derived its name from the game of ball, as being the most favourite and general exercise, although it was fitted up for other games also. So Pliny, *Ep. v. 6, 27*, says: *Apodyterio superpositum est sphæristerium, quod plura genera exercitationis pluresque circulos capit.* There then the *sphæristerium* was situated on the first floor, for Hirt's conjecture, *apodyterio suppositum est sph.*, which is as much as to say, 'under the windows of the *apodyterium* lies the *sphæristerium*,' is neither necessary, nor in conformity with the usages of language, as we may say *subjacet*, but not *supponitur*. Probably a stair led from the *apodyterium* into the *sphæristerium*, which might nevertheless be a much larger room than the other. The *circuli* are not divisions of the *sphæristerium*, for the different games, or parties of players, but the latter themselves. The expression could best be explained from Petronius, where we read (27): *Nos interim vestiti errare cœpimus (in balneo), imo jocari magis et circulis ludentum accedere.* The word is the more suitable, as most probably, at the public baths, a circle of spectators used to collect round the players. Hence Mart. vii. 72, 10, says:

Sic palmam tibi de trigone nudo  
Unctæ det favor arbiter coronæ.

Celsus, i. 2, prescribes: *Exercitationis plerumque finis esse debet sudor, aut certe lassitudo, quæ citra fatigationem sit.* And for this reason the place of exercise was erected in sunny spots in the open air, and if inside the house, was so made as to admit

of being warmed. So Statius says of the *Balneum Etrusci*, v. 57, seqq.:

Quid nunc strata solo referam tabulata, crepantes  
Auditura pilas, ubi languidus ignis inerrat  
Ædibus, et tenuem volvunt hypocausta vaporem.

Comp. Gevart. *Lect. Papin.* c. 38. From this passage we might conclude that the *sphæristeria* were sometimes boarded, *strata solo tabulata*, but after considering the words immediately succeeding, *ubi languidus ignis inerrat*, etc., we can only arrive at the conviction that we must not read *tabulata* but *tubulata*. For so we have in Pliny, *Ep.* ii. 17, 9: *Adhæret dormitorium membrum, transitu interjacente, qui suspensus et tubulatus conceptum vaporem salubri temperamento huc illucque digerit et ministrat*. The matter becomes still plainer through Seneca, *Ep.* 90: *Quædam nostra demum prodisse memoria scimus—ul suspensas balneorum et impressos parietibus tubos, per quos circumfunderetur calor, qui ima simul et summa foveret æqualiter*. In Statius then, we must suppose the floor to have been warmed, which is not extraordinary, for they used to exercise perfectly naked, and the *soleæ* were naturally taken off. Petr. 27, adduces it as something particular that Trimalchio *soleatus pila exercebatur*. Also in Martial, xii. 85, 3, we have,

Colliget et referet lapsum de pulvere follem,  
Et si jam lotus, jam soleatus erit.

As the *exercitatio* always preceded the bath, it is natural to suppose that the *sphæristeria*, both at the public *balnea*, and in private houses, were immediately adjoining the bath. So they are placed by Pliny in both the villas. *Ep.* ii. 17, 12; v. 6, 27.

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## EXCURSUS II. SCENE V.

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### THE GARDENS.

THE description given in the fifth scene of the gardens belonging to the villa, may appear but little in accordance with the habits and tastes of antiquity, and many may be inclined to imagine that some garden in the old French mode of the seventeenth or eighteenth century had served as a model. But the old proverb, that there is nothing new under the sun, holds good in this case. Gardens laid out in this style, in which vegetation was forced into stiff geometrical figures, and the knife and shears of the gardener annihilated every vestige of nature's free dominion, were in fashion at Rome, and not reserved for the invention of a later age. Indeed the ancients were more deserving of excuse for such absurdities, for the means afforded by nature in those days were but small in comparison with the abundant resources of our time. Foreign countries had not as yet unfolded their rich treasures of luxuriant and splendid vegetation, nor their thousand shrubs and flowers; and restricted to a barren *flora*, but little improved by culture, the Romans sought to create, by artificial means, a striking contrast to the free forms of Nature, and their trees and shrubs, such as the laurel, the cypress, the *taxus*, the *buxus*, the myrtle, and the rosemary, being in some measure naturally stiff in form, were quite adapted for their purposes. Were we to take from our parks the ornament of the *seringas*, *bignonias*, *spiræa*, the *cytissus*, the *ribes*, and *pirus*—were we to banish from our flower-beds the magnificent tulips and hyacinths, the numerous varieties of roses and dahlias, the rich fund of perennials and annuals, we should soon begin to think how we could, by means of artificial designs, distinguish the garden from the woods and fields.

It may certainly be doubted whether there were at that period entire gardens laid out in this formal fashion. On the contrary, we may conclude from the descriptions extant, that a mixture was resorted to, and that artificially trained hedges and alleys



alternated with thickets and clear green spaces, and in most cases vines, fruit, and even vegetables were not excluded.

It is strange that the Romans had no fixed name for the gardener, *hortulanus* being a term of later date. He is designated otherwise either by the more general term *villicus*, *cultor hortorum*, or in respect of individual portions of the garden, *vinitor*, *olitor*. But the proper fancy-gardener was called *topiarius*, and it is best to connect with this name whatever is to be said concerning the period and nature of such gardens.

*Topiarii* are mentioned by Cicero, and indeed as in general use, though this would not justify us in transferring their art to the vagaries of a later period. He names them among the more respected slaves, *Parad. v. 2: Ut in magna stultorum familia sunt alii lautiores, ut sibi videntur, sed tamen servi, atrienses, topiarii*, and expresses himself satisfied with his own *topiarius*, *ad Quint. fr. iii. 1, 2: topiarium laudavi: ita omnia convestit hedera qua basim villæ, qua intercolumnia ambulationis, ut denique illi palliati topiariam facere videantur et hederam vendere*. This covering of the walls, the trees, and the terraces with ivy, ever-green, and acanthus, was entirely the business of the *topiarius*; hence Pliny (xxi. 11, 39) says, *Vinca pervinca semper viret, in modum lineæ foliis geniculatim circumdata, topiaria herba*; and xxii. 22, 34, *Acanthos est topiaria et urbana herba*. In the same manner the trees round the Hippodrome in the Tuscan villa of the younger Pliny, were clad with ivy. *Ep. v. 6, 32: Platanis circuitur, illæ hedera vestiuntur, utque summæ suis, ita imæ alienis frondibus virent. Hedera truncum et ramos pererrat, vicinasque platanos transitu suo copulat*. In addition to this they found sufficient occupation in the disposition and care of numerous arbours and covered paths, constructed especially of vines. But these simple ornaments of the garden were not enough; trees and shrubs received, by means of tying up and pruning, artificial shapes; walls, figures of beasts, ships, letters, and so forth, were made out of them. The elder Pliny testifies how far people used to go in these absurdities. Speaking of the cypress, he says (xvi. 33, 60): *Metæ demum aspectu non repudiata, distinguendis tantum pinorum ordinibus, nunc vero tonsilis facta in densitato parietum coërcitaque gracilitate perpetuo tenera. Trahitur etiam in*

*picturas operis topiarii, venatus classesse et imagines rerum tenui folio brevique et virenti semper vestiens.* The *buxus*, which played such a prominent part in the garden of the Tuscan villa, was used in a similar manner. The description of it given by Pliny, (*Ep.* v. 6), is the main source of our knowledge about the ancient art of gardening. Among other things he says (sect. 16): *Ante porticum xystus concisis in plurimas species, distinctusque buxo; demissus inde pronusque pulvinus, cui bestiarum effigies invicem adversas buxus inscripsit. Acanthus in plano mollis et pæne dixerim liquidus. Ambit hunc ambulatione pressis varieque tonsis viridibus inclusa: ab his gestatio in modum circi, quæ buxum multiformem humilesque et retentas manu arbusculas circumit. Omnia maceria muniuntur. Hanc gradata buxus operit et subtrahit.* The treacherous bear that conceals a snake in his jaws decidedly belongs to these *bestiarum effigies*. Mart. iii. 19:

Proxima centenis ostenditur ursa columnis,  
Exornant fictæ qua platanona feræ.  
Hujus dum patulos alludens tentat hiatus  
Pulcher Hylas, teneram mersit in ora manum.  
Vipera sed cæco scelerata latebat in ore,  
Vivebatque anima deteriore fera.

Such bears are to be found amidst similar company in gardens, even in the present times. The description given in another part of Pliny (sect. 35) corresponds still more with the cones, pyramids, and letters, of modern gardens. *Alibi pratulum, alibi ipsa buxus intervenit in formas mille descripta, literas interdum, quæ modo nomen domini dicunt, modo artificis. Alternis metulæ surgunt, alternis inserta sunt poma, et in opere urbanissimo subita velut illati ruris imitatio. Medium spatium brevioribus utrimque platanis adornatur. Post has acanthus hinc inde lubricus et flexuosus; deinde plures figuræ pluraque nomina.*

The vacant spaces set with flowers and borders, were possibly in accordance with the taste of the whole garden, and subdivided into various forms by enclosures of box, as in the French gardens of the present day. At least we may gather as much from what the same Pliny says about the *xystus* before the *porticus* of his villa (sect. 16): *Ante porticum xystus concisus in plurimas species, distinctusque buxo*, for these *plurimæ species* cannot well pass for anything else than the small beds (*areolæ*) of divers

forms. Frequently too, such borders may have been elevated terrace-fashion, (*pulvini surgentes*; Plin. xxii. 22, 34; Gierig. *ad Plin. Ep.*), in which case, the margin rising in the form of an arch (*torus*, Plin.), was covered with ever-green or bears-foot.

The *gestatio* and *hippodromus* were essential parts of such gardens. The former was a broad regular pathway, perhaps to be compared with an alley, although not always in a straight line, in which they used to be carried about in the *lectica*, when they did not wish for any violent exercise. It is true that Celsus (ii. 15) says, *Genera gestationis plura sunt: lenissima est navi, vel in portu, vel in flumine; vel in lectica aut scamno; acrior vehiculo*; from which we might suppose that the *gestatio* was also designed for being driven in. But where there was a regular hippodrome, such a use of it would seem to be superfluous, and Celsus uses the word in its most extended meaning.

Gierig (*ad Plin.* sect. 32) has rightly explained the hippodrome, and defended the word against the other reading *hypodromus*. We cannot conceive that Pliny means a covered pathway. It was evidently a course similar to a circus, with several ways, separated by box-trees. Not only does the passage adduced by Gierig from Martial (xii. 50) prove that there were such hippodromes in gardens,

Pulvereumque fugax hippodromon ungula carpit  
Et pereuntis aquæ fluctus ubique sonat:

but also *Epigr.* 57, 20, where the poet, in answer to the question of Sparsus, why he so often visited his badly situated Nomentan villa, says, he can certainly very easily do without the country, when in Rome itself he has as good as a villa:

Cui plana summa despicit domus montes,  
Et rus in Urbe est vinitorque Romanus;  
Nec in Falerno colle major auctumnus,  
Intraque limen latus essedo cursus.

These parts of the garden were possibly less artificial, and here it is that we must look for the so often mentioned woods of laurel and plane-trees (*platanones*, *daphnones*), and myrtle thickets (*myrteta*). Mart. iii. 58, x. 79, xii. 50. It was then the business of the *topiarius* to maintain all these various parts of the garden in proper order. It is doubtful whether the *viridarii*, whose name often occurs in inscriptions, differed from them. We may perhaps understand the latter word of those who took care of the

*viridaria* in the houses, the *cavædium* and *peristylum*, as well as the gardens on the roof; but there is no sufficient ground for making such a distinction. On the contrary, Ulpian (*Dig.* xxxiii. 7, 8) says: *dolia, etiamsi defossa non sint, et cupæ quibusdam in regionibus accedunt instrumento: si villa cultior est, etiam atrieneses, scoparii: si etiam viridarii, topiarii*. The gardens generally are called *viridaria*, and the *topiarius*, who had the charge of them, could therefore with justice be called *viridarius*.

Besides him, however, we must suppose the existence of a particular *aquarius*, under which term is neither to be understood one of the *collegium fontanorum*, nor a water-carrier, nor a *minister aquæ* at table, but a slave, who constructed and kept in order all the aqueducts, as well as very ingenious fountains (of course also in the city residence). Such a one appears to be meant in Jul. Paul. iii. 7: *Domo cum omni jure suo, sicut instructa est, legata, urbana familia item artifices et vestiarii et diætarii et aquarii eidem domui servientes legato cedunt*.

Much might be said concerning the flowers known to the Romans; for though the Flora of those days was but poor in comparison with ours, still Beckmann is wrong in supposing (*Beitr. z. Gesch. d. Erfind.* iii. 296) that the Romans contented themselves solely with the wild plants, and laid out neither flower-gardens, nor cultivated any exotics. But it would be useless to give a mere catalogue of the important names of flowers given by Virgil, Pliny, Columella, and others, and to enter into a more accurate investigation would require a special work; for after all that Voss, Schneider, Billerbeck (*Flora classica*), Sprengel (*Historia rei herbariæ*), and others have said on the subject we still are in want of a detailed critical elaboration of the classical Flora.

We may take for granted in general that the *violaria* and *rosaria* were the main ornaments of the gardens. Next came the bulbous plants, the crocus, narcissus, lilies, of more than one sort, gladiolus, irides, also hyacintha, in our sense of the word, (*hyacinthus orientalis*, probably meant by Col. x. 100, 149, is understood by Schneider to mean iris), poppies, amaranthi, and so on.

Green-houses, for the protection of the more tender kinds of exotics against cold, and for the production of flowers and fruits

at other seasons than nature assigned to them, do not appear to be mentioned before the first century. Martial alludes to them frequently, as viii. 14 :

Pallida ne Cilicum timeant pomaria brumam,  
Mordeat et tenerum fortior aura nemus,  
Hybernæ objecta Notis specularia pueros  
Admittunt soles et sine fæce diem.

and *Ep.* 68 :

Invida purpureos urat ne bruma racemos,  
Et gelidum Bacchi munera frigus edat,  
Condita perspicua vivit vindemia gemma,  
Et tegitur felix, nec tamen uva latet.—  
Quid non ingenio voluit natura licere?  
Auctumnum sterilis ferre iubetur hiems.

This was a regular hot-house, where winter-grapes were grown. Columella (xi. 3, 52) teaches how to have early melons, and Pliny (xix. 5, 23) relates of the portable gherkin and melon-beds of Tiberius: *Nulla quippe non die contigit ei pensiles eorum hortos promoventibus in solem rotis olitoribus, rursusque hibernis diebus intra specularium munimenta revocantibus.* We see from Martial (iv. 21, 5) that flowers also were forced in green-houses :

Condita sic puro numerantur lilia vitro  
Sic prohibet tenuis gemma latere rosas.

When therefore Boettiger says (*Sab.* i. 253), ‘Among the fruits which Martial in his *Apophoreta* has ennobled with his distichs, there were no doubt several made only of wax, and the garlands of roses, in the middle of December, which he calls (xiii. 127) *festivas coronas brumæ*, were probably made of coloured wax;’ this is a perfectly untenable conjecture, and an incorrect account, for the reading is not *festivas rosas*, which would not suit the metre, but the epigram runs thus :

Dat festinatas, Cæsar, tibi bruma coronas ;  
Quondam veris erat, nunc tua facta rosa est.

But in *festinatas* lies the most convincing proof that they were forced roses. Compare vi. 80 :

Ut nova dona tibi, Cæsar, Nilotica tellus  
Miserat hibernas ambitiosa rosas :  
Navita derisit Pharios Memphisiticus hortos,  
Urbis ut intravit limina prima tuæ.  
Tantus veris honos, et odoræ gratia Floræ,  
Tantaque Pæstani gloria ruris erat.

Comp. iv. 28. But it is not necessary to suppose that in every case where *rosæ hibernæ* are mentioned, we must understand roses artificially forced in hot-houses. The roses of Pæstum bloomed for a second time in the autumn, *biferi rosaria Pæsti*, Virg. *Georg.* iv. 119; Mart. xii. 31; and when in mild winters the *rosa pallida* is seen to bloom in Germany in the open air at Christmas, and even in January, why should not the same thing have been possible in a milder climate. Roses and garlands of wax are not in any case to be thought of.

In conclusion we may remark, that in Rome there were also window-gardens (flower pots in the windows): we cannot otherwise understand what Martial says, xi. 18:

Donasti, Lupe, rus sub urbe nobis;  
Sed rus est mihi majus in fenestra.

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## EXCURSUS. SCENE VI.

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### THE DRESS OF THE WOMEN.



*A female, in a double tunica and a palla.*

**A**N antiquarian would be sadly at fault, had he to write a history of the fashions in female dress at Rome, or even to explain the terms which occur in connection with the subject. The meaning of such names generally vanishes with the fashion

that gave rise to them, and less than a century afterwards, there is no tradition that can give any satisfactory intelligence about the peculiarity of a stuff or a particular form of dress. Commentators must fail, for the most part, in their attempts to explain the various articles of fashion mentioned in Plaut. *Aul.* iii. 5, and *Epid.* ii. 2; and the old grammarians, who are much too ready to explain the nature of such things by the first suitable etymology they can meet with, can be but little trusted, since the fashions of earlier times were probably quite as incomprehensible to them as they are to us.

Whoever therefore intends to treat concerning the dress of the Roman ladies, will do well to confine himself to generalities, and this is the more satisfactory, as the several articles of dress always remained the same in the main, and the fashions appear to have extended mostly only to the stuff or quality, or to the other accessories, which are of no importance. If we go through the catalogue in Plaut. *Epid.* v. 39,

Quid erat induta? an regillam induculam, an mendiculam  
Impluviatam? ut istæ faciunt vestimentis nomina.—  
Quid istæ quæ vesti quotannis nomina inveniunt nova:  
Tunicam rallam, tunicam spissam, linteolum cæsitum,  
Indusiatam, patagiatam, caltulam, aut crocotulam,  
Supparum, aut subminiam, ricam, basilicum aut exoticum,  
Cumatile, aut plumatile, carinum, aut gerrinum.

we may easily see that, in spite of all the obscurity of the names, they refer almost throughout, to a difference in the stuff. But a stronger evidence of the unaltered condition of the national dress down to a very late period, is to be found in the numerous monuments of art, which only differ from each other in the selection by the artist in each case of the most favourable drapery, but always exhibit the same leading portion of dress.

The complete costume of a Roman lady consisted of three chief portions, the *tunica interior*, the *stola*, and the *palla*.

The *tunica interior*, it is supposed, is also called, in the case of the women, *indusium*, or *intusium*, according as the word is derived from *induere*, or with Varro, *L. L.* v. 30; from *intus*. *Interula* appears to be a word of the latest period, and is used of the *tunica* both of men and women. Apul. *Flor.* ii. 32; *Metam.* viii. 533, and frequently in Vopiscus; it therefore seems to mean nothing more than *tunica intima* in Gell. x. 15.



Apuleius also mentions *indusiati pueri*, but only in cases where a deviation from custom takes place. The *tunica interior* was a simple shift, which, at least in earlier times, had not sleeves, any more than originally the Greek χιτὼν. According to Non. xiv. 18, it sat closely to the body, (though this must hardly be taken in a strict sense,) and was not girded whenever the second *tunica* was put on. Supposing it was only worn within doors, this might have been the case, but the assumption that the *semicinctium* was particularly destined for this purpose, is entirely arbitrary. For in Martial, (xiv. 153, *Semicinctium*), it is to be taken as the girdle of the *tunica virorum*, and so in Petr. 94.

Stays for compressing the form into an unnatural appearance of slimness, were not known to the ancients, and would have been an abomination in their eyes. In Terent. *Eun.* ii. 3, 21,

Hand similis virgo est virginum nostrarum, quas matres student  
Demissis humeris esse, vincto pectore, ut gracilæ sient.  
Si qua est habitior paullo, pugilem esse aiunt deducunt cibum.  
Tamen si bona est natura, reddunt curatura iunctæas.

a severe censure is conveyed of so unnatural a taste, which is confirmed by all the monuments of art. Still we should be in error if we supposed that a girl in those days, even though *vincto pectore*, was provided with stays. All they had was a bosom-band, *strophium*, *mamillare*, for the purpose of elevating the bosom, and also perhaps to confine somewhat the *nimius tumor*. We must not confound with this what Martial calls the *fascia pectoralis*, xiv. 134:

Fascia, crescentes dominæ compesce papillas,  
Ut sit, quod capiat nostra tegatque manus.

Such *fasciæ*, as is evident from his own words, were worn to confine the breast in its growth, and were consequently not a part of the usual dress. This is also meant by Terence; on which see Stallbaum's note, and Scal. *ad Varr. L. L.* iv. 59.

But the *strophium* was placed over the inner *tunica*, as we see from the fragment of Turpilius in Non. xiv. 8:

Me miseram! Quid agam? Inter vias epistola cecidit mihi,  
Infelix inter tuniculam ac strophium quam collocaveram,

It appears to have been usually of leather, at least Martial's *Epigram*, xiv. 66, alludes to this, *Mamillare* :

Taurino poterat pectus constringere tergo ;  
Nam pellis mammas non capit ista tuas.

and for this reason is called by Catull. 64, 65 ; *tereti strophio luctantes vincla papillas*. Boettiger's statement, that *strophium* was not called *mamillare*, except when designed to gird in the too much developed bosom, is perfectly groundless, and contradicted by the same *Epigram* of Martial, who says that the *mamillare* of which he speaks, is not sufficient for so large a breast.

Over the *tunica interior* was drawn the *stola*, also a *tunica* but with sleeves, which, however, in general, only covered the upper part of the arm. They were not sewn together, but the opening on the outer side was fastened by clasps, as was frequently the case with the *tunica* without sleeves, the parts of which, covering the breast and back, were only fastened over the shoulders by means of a *fibula*. The matter is rendered clearest by monuments, such as the bronze statue in the *Mus. Borb.* ii. t. 4, although the dress be not Roman. The girl there represented, is just about to fasten the two parts over the shoulders, and these, as well as a part of the breast, are still uncovered. Although the *stola* generally had sleeves, it is sometimes found without them, as in the statue of Livia in the *Mus. Borb.* iii. t. 37, in which the under *tunica* had sleeves, but the upper none : it is fastened high up, above the shoulder, by means of a ribband-like clasp, so that the front and back part have no other fastening. The statue given by Visconti, *Monum. Gabini*, 34, seems to be clad in the same manner. In the half-bronze figure in the *Mus. Borb.* viii. t. 59, the under *tunica* only has sleeves, while the upper is provided with arm-holes, without clasps. What distinguished this upper *tunica* from the lower one, and rendered it a *stola*, or, at all events, was never absent, was the *instita* ; according to Boettiger a broad flounce, sewn on to the lower skirt. But this does not agree with the remarks of the Scholiast of Cruquius on the chief passage concerning this article of dress. *Hor. Sat.* i. 2, 29 :

——— Sunt qui nolunt tetigisse nisi illas,  
Quarum subsuta talos tegit instita veste.

He says: *quia matronæ stola utuntur ad imos usque pedes de-*

*missa, cujus imam partem ambit instita subsula, id est, conjuncta. Instita autem Græce dicitur περιπέδιλον, quod stola subnebatur, qua matronæ utebantur: erat enim tenuissima fasciola, quæ prætextæ adjiciebatur.* If the Scholiast be right, we must consider it to have been a narrow flounce, sewn on under the strip of purple. Ovid, *Art. Am.* i. 32, does not disagree with this,

Quæque tegis medios instita longa pedes;

for *longa* could in no case be understood of the breadth of the flounce, but only of its reaching far down. This, however, would not exclude the possibility of its having been also worn broader.

While the under *tunica* did not reach much beyond the knee, the *stola* was longer than the whole figure, and was consequently girded in such a manner that it made a quantity of broad folds under the breast, and the *instita* reached down to the feet, which it half covered. In the case of ladies of distinction, the *stola* also was ornamented on the neck with a coloured stripe, but whether it was of purple, as Boettiger asserts, there seems to be considerable doubt. Ferrarius (*de re vest.* iii. 20) has shewn (from Nonius, xiv. 19, *Patagium aureus clavus, qui pretiosis vestibus immitti solet*; and Tertull. *de pall.* 3, *pavo est pluma omni patagio inauratior, qua terga fulgent*) that it was a strip of gold, and he defends this opinion also in the *Analecta*, 2. It was then a similar decoration to the *clavus* among the men, which we shall return to in the Article on the *Male Dress*.

The *stola* was the characteristic dress of the Roman matrons, as the *toga* was for the Roman citizens. The *libertinæ* and *meretrices* differed thus much from them, that they wore a shorter *tunica* without *instita*, and the latter a dark-coloured *toga*. Hence in Horace, (*Sat.* i. 2, 63), the *togata* is opposed to the *matrona*, and the same opposition occurs in Tib. iv. 10, 3,

Si tibi cura toga est potior, pressumque quasillo-  
Scortum, quam Servi filia Sulpicia.

and in this sense, Martial says in defence of his frivolous *Epi-grams* (i. 36, 8):

Quis Floralia vestit, et stolatum  
Permittit meretricibus pudorem.

Indeed the *matrona* found guilty of incontinence, lost the right

of wearing the *stola*, and had to exchange it for the *toga*. So the scholiast of Cruquius relates on the above passage of Horace: *Matronæ quæ a maritis repudiabantur propter adulterium, togam accipiebant, sublata stola alba propter ignominiam, meretrices autem prostare solebant cum togis pullis, ut discernentur a matronis adulterii convictis et damnatis, quæ togis albis utebantur*. To this refer the passages adduced by Heindorf, in Martial, ii. 39, and vi. 64, 4.

Next to these came the *palla*, which, however, was only worn out of doors, and was to the women, what the *toga* was to the men. The fashion of wearing it, was similar to that of the *toga*, and will therefore be better explained along with the latter. It is reasonable to suppose, that as the men were extremely particular in the adjustment of the *toga*, the women would be still more so, about the most ornamental and advantageous way of arranging the *palla*. It fell more or less low, sometimes down to the feet, according to the pleasure of the wearer, but was not allowed to drag along the ground. It has been already shewn from Ovid, (*Amor.* iii. 13, 24), that Boettiger goes too far when he adds: 'For at the theatre alone were trains allowed to the Heroes and Citharædæ of Antiquity.' Ottfr. Müller, *Etrusk.* ii. 46, has also explained the passage in the old and untenable manner, and we therefore proceed to a further justification of the explanation given. He says, in speaking of the worship of Juno at Falerii, (this is the *mænia Camillo victa* of Ovid, for at this period the ruins only of Veii existed, Prop. iv. 10, 27), 'A *pompa* was joined with the annual great sacrifices, the festive path was laid with carpets.' For the latter assertion, Ovid, v. 12 and 24, and Dionys. i. 21, are referred to. But in Dionysius, nothing at all is to be found about such a covering for the way, and Ovid's words cannot be so explained. For when he says (v. 13),

It per velatas annua pompa vias,

the *velatæ viæ* mean streets adorned with foliage and festoons of flowers, as in Virg. *Æn.* ii. 249, and Ovid, *Trist.* iv. 2, 3. But the second passage, (v. 23, seq.),

Qua ventura dea est, juvenes timidæque puellæ  
Præverrunt latas veste jacente vias.

which is the most important one, admits only of the explana-

tion here given. It is the trailing garments (*vestis jacens*) of those preceding, which sweep the way, as it were. So says Statius (*Achill.* i. 262): *Si decet aurata Bacchum vestigia palla Verrere*. That *vestis jacens* may, in the case even of a person walking, signify the garment which touches the ground, is clear from a passage in Ovid (*Amor.* iii. 1, 9):

Venit et ingenti violenta Tragedia passu;  
Fronte comæ torva; palla jacebat humi.

There were therefore cases besides at the theatre, in which the *palla*, contrary to the usual habit, was allowed to trail along the ground.

Though there may be no doubts about the essential nature of these different portions of female attire, still the names *stola* and *palla* have received an entirely different interpretation from others. Rubens, for instance, does this, and the same explanation, in the main, is to be found in Ottfried Müller's *Handbuch d. Archäol.* 475, where the *stola* is taken to mean the under *tunica*, the *palla* to be a sort of upper *tunica*, while in place of the *palla*, as explained above, the *amiculum* is substituted. Probably this explanation is based on the obscure passage of Varro, v. 30, *Sp.* It need only be here remarked, that it is the upper *tunica* which in all monuments reaches to the feet, and that consequently there would be nothing visible of the *stola* (taken as an under-garment) with its *instita*, which is nevertheless the distinguishing garment of the Roman matron; that the words of Hor. *Sat.* i. 2, 99,

At talos stola demissa et circumdata palla,

do not at all allow of the latter being explained as an *indumentum*; that *amiculum* is a general expression, which is equally used of the mantle of the men and of the women, Petr. 11; that we cannot refer to Plaut. *Cist.* i. 1, 117, and *Pæn.* i. 2, 136, as these passages do not even allude to the Roman dress, and the word there used is merely a translation of the Greek *ἱμάτιον*; that Ovid, *Met.* xiv. 263, affords just as little proof (*Comp. Odys.* v. 230); and that we cannot draw any inference as to what the *palla* was from Livy, xxvii. 4, *reginæ pallam pictam cum amiculo purpureo*. It will therefore be necessary to adduce some new and authentic arguments, before we can consent to give up

the explanation defended by Ferrarius, and recognized by Boettiger and Heindorf as a correct one.

We cannot assent to the latter, when on *Sat. i. 8, 23, Vidi egomet nigra succinctam vadere palla Canidiam*, he supposes that *palla* is poetically used for *tunica*. Canidia comes, *palla succincta legendis in sinum ossibus herbisque nocentibus*.

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## EXCURSUS. SCENE VII.

### THE BATHS.

THE bath was a most important event in the every day life of the Romans of that period which is here principally described, and one of their most essential requirements. Bodily health and cleanliness, although its original object, had long ceased being the only one; for the baths, decorated with prodigal magnificence, and supplied with all the comforts and conveniences that a voluptuary could desire, had become places of amusement, whither people repaired for pastime and enjoyment. In earlier times, bathing was much less frequent, as Seneca tells us, citing the authority of more ancient authors. *Epist. 86: Nam, ut aiunt, qui priscos mores urbis tradiderunt* (perhaps Varro) *brachia et crura quotidie abluebant, quæ scilicet sordes opere collegerant, cæterum toti nundinis lavabantur.* Cato, *de lib. educ. in Non. iii. 5*, says, *ephippium: Mihi puero modica una fuit tunica et toga, sine fasciis calceamenta, equus sine ephippio, balneum non quotidianum, alveus rarus.* And Columella does not approve of the slaves bathing daily or frequently, (i. 6, 20): *nam eas quoque (balneas) refert esse, in quibus familia, sed tantum feriis lavetur, neque enim corporis robori, convenit frequens usus earum.*

Hence the ancient baths, both public and private, being in the words of Seneca, *in usum, non oblectamentum reperia*, were of very simple construction. In the villa of Scipio Africanus, where Seneca found so much cause for instituting a comparison between the ancient and modern times, there was a *balneolum angustum, tenebricosum ex consuetudine antiqua*. Then he says: *non videbatur majoribus nostris caldum, nisi obscurum;* and further on: *In hoc balneo Scipionis minimæ sunt rimæ magis quam fenestræ, ut sine injuria munimenti lumen admitterent.* So also he designates the public baths as *obscura et gregali tectorio inducta*. The ancients seem to have confined themselves merely to a cold and a warm bath, the temperature of

which was under the superintendence of the ædiles, as Seneca relates in the letter mentioned. Eventually, sweating and hot-water baths were added.

We are rich in means to enable us to form a clear idea of the arrangement of the Roman baths, as we not only possess the works of several ancient writers who have either given plans for constructing baths, or descriptions of them, but also considerable remains, which agree with the accounts that have been handed down to us. Of the authors, we must mention first Vitruvius, (v. 10), and Palladius, (i. 40), who treat of the plan of the baths. In addition to whom, Lucian, (Ἰππίας ἢ βαλάνειον); Pliny, in both the letters about his villas (ii. 17); Statius, (*Balneum Etrusci*); Silv., (i. 5); Martial, (vi. 42); and Sidon. Apoll., (*Epist.* ii. 2), have left interesting accounts; and we obtain from the epigrams of Martial, and from Seneca, (*Epist.* 51, 56, and 86), numerous notices on the nature of the baths, and life in the same.

But the remains, at present in existence, of ancient baths themselves, are much more instructive than all these written accounts; among which are the ruins of the baths of Titus, Caracalla, and Diocletian, in Rome. It would be difficult to explain with any degree of certainty, the proper connection of the various parts of these extensive establishments, and to do so would require not only a good architect, but also a learned antiquarian and philologist; and it is on this account, that there is so much diversity in the plans that have been given of them. We shall here, however, refer only to the general customs and manners which can be with certainty determined, rejecting all hypotheses about these baths, and simply giving a description of other smaller ones, which, being in a better state of preservation, will afford us a clearer idea of the essential parts of a Roman bath. A specimen of this kind is to be found in the ruins discovered in 1784 at Badenweiler, though they are only just enough preserved to enable us to distinguish the individual divisions from each other. Far more important than these, are the *thermæ*, discovered some years since at Pompeii, which were in such a condition when excavated, as to allow of our assigning with certainty to most of the parts their particular destination.

Of more modern writings on this subject, besides several

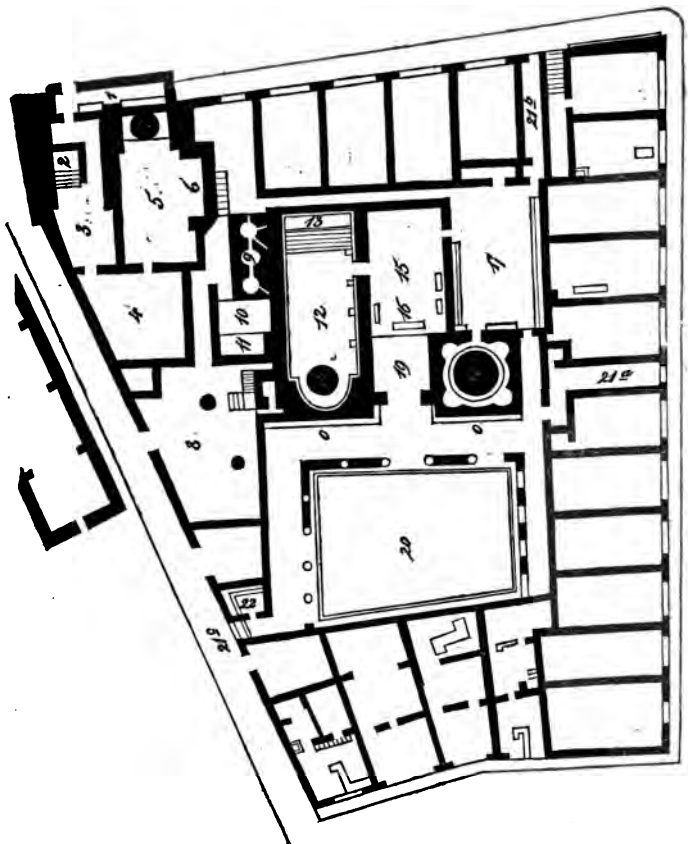


passages in the works of Winckelmann, the following are particularly worthy of consideration: Cameron, *Description des bains Romains*; *Le terme dei Romani disegnate da A. Palladio, con alcune osservazioni da O. B. Scamozzi*; *Description des bains de Titus*, (a work, however, which is occupied far more with the paintings found there, than with the baths themselves); Stieglitz, *Archæol. der Bauk*, ii. 267; Hirt, *Gesch. der Bauk*, iii. 233; Weinbrenner, *Entwürfe und Ergänzungen antiker Gebäude*, which contains the bath of Hippias, after Lucian, and the ruins of Badenweiler. Besides which, we have the remarks of the editors of Vitruvius, particularly Schneider, ii. 375—391. Stratico is more superficial, and Marini has done little more than repeat the old erroneous opinions. Concerning the baths of Pompeii, we have detailed accounts from Gugl. Bechi, in the *Mus. Borb.* ii. t. 49—52, and from Gell's *Pompeiana: the topography, edifices, and ornaments of Pompeii. The result of excavations since 1819.* Lond. 1835. i. 83, ii. 80.

The baths of Pompeii, which were discovered complete not only in their essential parts, but also in their ornaments, inscriptions, and even utensils, are adapted above all others for making us generally acquainted with the internal arrangements of Roman baths. Moreover, we may assume that more baths were laid down after the same plan, as those at Stabiae, and (as far as regards the *caldarium* at least) that found in the villa of Diomedes, (see *Voyage pittor. de Naples*, Liv. 10 et 11, pl. 79), agree almost entirely with that of Pompeii, and the arrangement of baths in private houses and villas was no doubt similar, though they were of course not on so large a scale as the great public *thermæ*. A description of the baths of Pompeii would on this account be appropriate here, and we therefore extract the principal parts of Sir W. Gell's account, which seems preferable, because it is not only more general, but also dwells on interesting peculiarities, and thus presents a far more comprehensive view of the plan and internal arrangements. In other respects, we cannot deny that Bechi, with far more extensive antiquarian research, often gives more correct explanations, as we shall have occasion to observe in our parenthetical remarks.

The plates we here give represent : I. The bath we are about to describe ; II. The baths of Stabiae, (according to Gell, i. 131) ; and III. The well known and instructive painting, representing the section of a Roman bath, found in the baths of Titus.

## I.



PLAN OF THE BATHS AT POMPEII.

The grand entrance (such are the words of Gell, i. 88) seems to have been that in the street of Fortune, so called, at present, from the temple of that goddess. [Bechi, on the contrary, considers that marked 21', on the opposite side, to have been the grand entrance.] All or many of the rooms opening into the street, on each side this entrance, seem to have been vaulted, thus contributing to the support of the arches thrown over the larger chambers in the interior.

This entry or passage, marked 21' on the plan, opened into a court, 20, about sixty feet long, bounded on two sides by a Doric portico, and on the third by a crypt. Over the crypt was a second story, where the doubtful indications of a chimney may be observed.

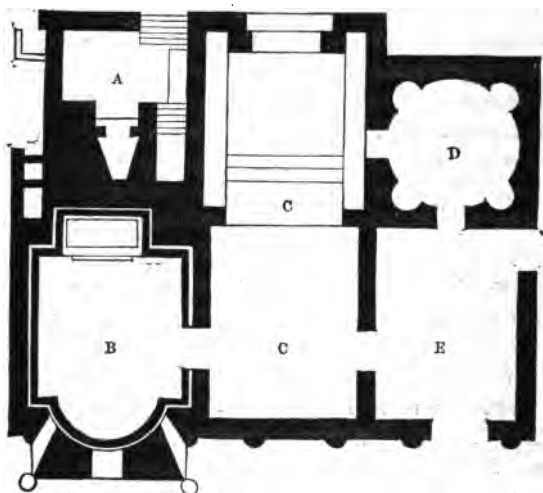
At the opposite angle of the court was another exit, marked 21', leading into an alley which runs from the *forum* to the house of Pansa. At this exit was the *latrina*, 22, the uses of which are unequivocally visible. The spot marked 19, which is singular on account of a sort of *pronaos* with seats, is vaulted, and was lighted at night by a lamp, so placed that its rays fell into the chamber 15 on one side, and enlightened 19 on the other. The same contrivance existed in the recess 14, where a lamp gave light also to the portico. Both these lamps were protected by circular convex glasses, the fragments of which were found in the inner chambers at their excavation.

As the baths of Pompeii were not of sufficient consequence to be furnished with every sort of apartment, like those of the capital, we are to look for the *vestibulum* and the *exedra*, or a place which might serve instead of them, near the entrance of the *thermæ*. '*In vestibulo deberet esse porticus ad deambulationes his qui essent ingressuri.*' That portico is undoubtedly the one in the court; and the *exedra*, so called from the *ἔδραι*, or seats, where those who did not choose to walk in the portico might repose, is represented by the benches which run along the wall. [These are not given by Gell, but copied here from the *Mus. Borb.*, and marked with o. Bechi considers them meant for the use of slaves who accompanied their masters to the bath, and calls the room 19 an *æcus*, or *exedra*.] Vitruvius mentions that, while some were bathing, others were generally waiting to succeed them.

In this court, or vestibule, was found a sword with a leather sheath, and the box for the *quadrans*, or money, which was paid for each visitor. The *quadrans* was the fourth part of the *assis*, and the fourteenth part of a *denarius*. [Fourteenth is put by mistake for fortieth. It is natural, that after the *denarius* was computed equal to sixteen *asses*, the *quadrans* also underwent a reduction; and sixty-four went to a *denarius*.] A sum so moderate, that the heating of the baths could not have been defrayed without a crowd of bathers. The poet remarks upon the trifling sum with which a man made himself as happy as a king: *Dum tu quadrante lavatum rex ibis.* Hor. Sat. iii. [The meaning of this ironical passage has been clearly misunderstood by the author.]

Juvenal says that youths under the age of fourteen paid nothing. Sat. ii. [The words are, (v. 152): *Nec pueri credunt, nisi qui nondum ære lavantur*; but the sense seems rather to be, children who do not as yet visit the public baths.] The smallness of the sum, however, was a great en-

## II.



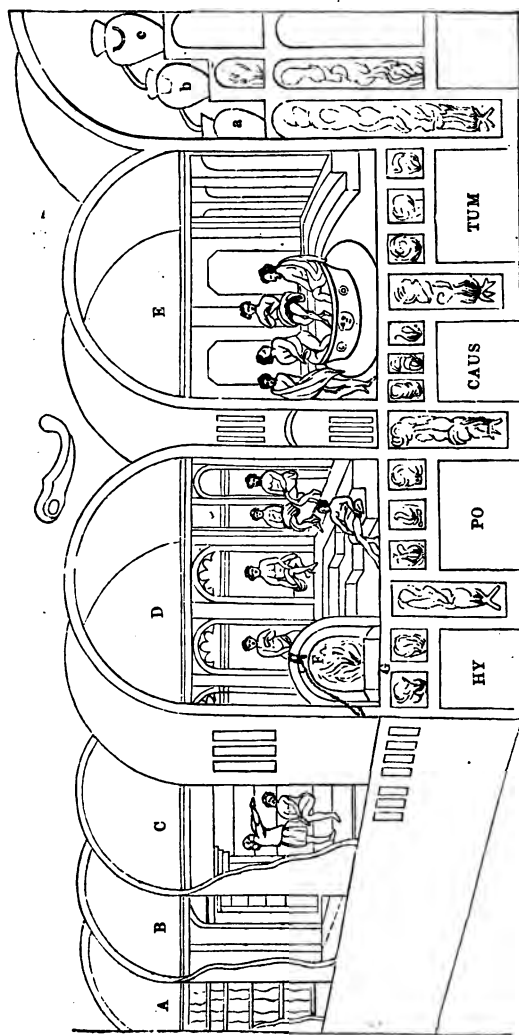
PLAN OF THE BATHS OF STABIAE, AFTER GELL.

A. Praefurnium.  
B. Laconicum.  
C. Tepidarium.

D. Nataatorium.  
E. Frigidarium.

## III.

PAINTING OF A SECTION OF A ROMAN BATH.



- A. Elaeothesium.  
 B. Frigidarium.  
 C. Tepidarium.  
 D. Concamerula Sudatio.

- E. Balneum.  
 F. Clipeus.  
 G. Laconicum.

- a. Caldarium.  
 b. Tepidarium.  
 c. Frigidarium.

couragement to bathers who, according to Pliny, sometimes bathed seven times in one day. [The author is much mistaken if he fancies this was usual. The passage in Pliny does not occur to me; but *Æl. Lamprid.* (11) says of Commodus: *Lavabat per diem septies atque octies.* But this was a monstrous way of living.]

It is exceedingly probable that the sword was that of the keeper of the *thermæ* or *balneator*, whose station, with his box of money, must have been the *ala* of the portico, 19. This room was not painted, and the roof seems to have been blackened by the smoke of the lamps. Those who had paid here, might have entered with some sort of ticket. Tickets for the theatre have been found at Pompeii, and have been engraved. One for the show of gladiators is in the possession of Mr Dodwell at Rome.

In this Doric portico persons waited for admission to the *thermæ*, which were not of sufficient size to admit conveniently more than twenty or thirty at once. Here, therefore, notices of shows, games, exhibitions, or sales, might conveniently be exposed to the public. Accordingly, on the south wall was painted in large letters, *Dedicatio*, etc. [Here follows the inscription, and then an explanation of the *sparsiones*, which I have omitted, as being of very little importance. We must however remark that he adduces another inscription, in which *spassiones* occurs. The author holds this to be a provincialism (?), and suspects that the first inscription had the word also thus written, though it was no longer fresh enough to ascertain this. Bechi says nothing about it. *Relaz. d. Sc. Mus. Borb. ii.*]

From the court, those who intended to bathe passed by a small corridor, into the chamber 17, which must be supposed to have corresponded with the first room of the Turkish bath, where a stranger is undressed. [The author describes (p. 86) the arrangements of the Turkish baths, from which he proceeds to a description of those at Pompeii, which he considers analogous to them.] In this corridor was found a great number of lamps, perhaps more than five hundred, but above one thousand were discovered in the whole circuit of the baths, of which it is

said the workmen were ordered to make a general destruction, after the best had been selected.

These lamps were generally of common *terra cotta*, and some of them had the impression of the figures of the Graces, and others of Harpocrates, of moderate execution. Athenæus (b. xv.) says that the lamps in baths were of brass, [He probably alludes to the words: *ὁ δὲ Εὐβοῖος πολλὰ μὲν εἶρηκεν ἐν τοῖς ποιήμασι χαρίεντα· περὶ μὲν τῆς τῶν βαλανείων μάχης· Βάλλον δ' ἀλλήλους χαλκήρεσιν ἐγχείουσιν.* But what right there is to assume from thence that the *lamps* were of brass, we cannot conceive.] and distinguished by names expressive of the number of burners, such as *monomixi*, *dimixi*, *trimixi*, and *polymixi*; but the authors who have written on the subject, seem to speak always of buildings and customs on a scale of magnificence too extravagant to guide us in the explanation of the Pompeian *thermæ*. Some attention has been paid to the decoration of this passage, the cieling being covered with stars.

In the room 17, all who frequented the *thermæ* for the purpose of bathing met, whether they entered by the portico, or from either of the doors from the street on the north; and here was certainly the *frigidarium*, in which many persons took off their garments, but more especially those who intended to make use only of the *natatio*, or cold bath. To them, at least, this chamber served as the *spoliatorium*, *apodyterium*, or *apolyterium*, so called from the *Ἀποδυτήριον* of the Greeks, signifying the place where the clothes were left; [The *apodyterium*, as Bechi also observes, was never called *spoliatorium*, and even *spoliarium* is very doubtful as far as regards baths. *Apolyterium* is perfectly erroneous.] and accordingly we may observe on entering, certain holes in the wall, in which had either been inserted rafters or pegs for supporting shelves, or for hanging garments. Pliny mentions that people first entered into the *apodyterium*, or *tepidarium*, with a temperate air, and consigned their garments to *caprarii*, which were probably pegs, so called from their likeness to horns. [Where Pliny says this, we know not; for the author is not used to give references to the passages he alludes to. Bechi, too, says: 'There are apertures in the wall made to receive the wooden props or hooks on which were hung the garments of those who undrest here, before taking the bath in

the adjoining rooms.' But it seems almost indubitable, that a sad confusion has been made here between *caprarii* and *capsarii*, persons who took charge of the clothes at the bath. See *Remark xii*. Shelves are visible in the painting from the baths of Titus, in the *tepidarium*, on which a man is just placing garments.]

The chamber itself, which is spacious, is vaulted, and the arch springs from a projecting cornice, covered with a richly-coloured painting of griffins and lyres. The cieling appears to have consisted of panels of white within red borders, and the pavement of the common sort of white mosaic. The walls were painted yellow. Stone benches occupy the greater part of the walls, with a step running below them slightly raised from the floor. A little apartment at the north end may have been either a *latrina*, or, if it had sufficient light, a *tonstrina* for shaving, or it might possibly have served for keeping the unguents, *strigils*, towels, and other articles necessary for the accommodation of the visitors.

It is probable that a window once existed at the north, like that now remaining at the south end; but in no case could this, or any other room in the Pompeian *thermæ* answer to the description of the wide windows of the *frigidarium* of the author, who says, *Frigidarium locus ventis perflatus fenestris amplis*. The yet remaining window admitted light from the south, and is placed close under the vault of the roof, and rather intrenching upon it. It opens upon the roof of the chamber 18, and was not only formed of glass, but of good plate glass, slightly ground on one side so as to prevent the curiosity of any person upon the roof. Of this glass all the fragments remained at the excavation, a circumstance which appeared not a little curious to those who imagined that its use was either unknown, or very rare among the ancients, and did not know that a window of the same kind had been found in the baths of the villa of Diomedes.

Glass seems to have at first been brought from Egypt, and to have, in fact, received its name of *ύαλός* from the Coptic. Crystal, *κρύσταλλος*, or the permanent ice of the ancients, originally designated the natural stone itself. It is said to have been little known in Rome before 536 A.U.C., but this would give ample time for its use at Pompeii long before its destruction.



There are few subjects on which the learned seem to have been so generally mistaken as that of the art of glass-making among the ancients, who seem to have been far more skilful than was at first imagined. Not to mention the description of a burning-glass in the *Nubes* of Aristophanes, v. 764, the collection which Mr Dodwell first formed and brought into notice at Rome by repolishing the fragments, is sufficient to prove that specimens of every known marble, and of many not now existing in cabinets, as well as every sort of precious stone, were commonly and most successfully imitated by the ancients, who used these imitations in cups and vases of every size and shape.

In the time of Martial, about a century after Christ, glass cups were common, except the *calices allassontes*, which displayed changeable or prismatic colours, and, as Vossius says, were procured in Egypt, and were so rare that Adrian, sending some to Servianus, ordered that they should only be used on great occasions. The *vasa murrhina*, however, which were in such request, seem at last to have been successfully traced to China: Propertius calls them Parthian, and it seems certain that the porcelain of the East was called *Mirrha di Smyrna* to as late a date as 1555.

The vast collection of bottles, glasses, and other utensils discovered at Pompeii, is sufficient to shew that the ancients were well acquainted with the art of glass-blowing in all its branches; but it is not the less true that they sometimes used, much as we do, horn for lanterns, which Plautus terms *Vulcan* in a prison of horn; [*Amphitr.* i. 1, 185: *Volcanum in cornu conclusum geris*. So also mention is made in Athenæus, xv. p. 699, of *κερατίνου φωσφόρου λύχνου σέλας*, and in Martial, xiv. 61 and 62, *laterna ex vesica* and *cornea*. So also is explained *laterna Punica* in Plautus, *Aul.* iii. 6, 30], and that windows, and Cicero says, lanterns [*ad Attic.* iv. 3, *linea laterna*. But the reading is doubtful] were sometimes made of linen instead of glass, as we see oiled paper in modern times. The common expression for these objects in Latin appears to be *Fenestræ volubiles, vel lineis velis, vel specularia vitratæ clausæ*. [The *vela*, at all events, are something quite different.]

In process of time, glass became so much the fashion, that whole chambers were lined with it. The remains of such a room

were discovered in the year 1826, near Ficulnea, in the Roman territory; and these are hinted at in a passage of the Roman naturalist: *Non dubie vitreas facturæ cameras, si prius id inventum fuisset.* [Plin. xxxvi. 25, 64.] In the time of Seneca the chambers in *thermæ* had walls covered with glass and Thasian marble, the water issued from silver tubes, and the decorations were mirrors. [This is incorrect. Seneca says, *Epist.* 86: *Nisi parietis magnis et pretiosis orbibus refulserunt:* and even if he had written *speculis*, still we must rather have understood thereby the marble medallions, which, like the *abaci*, served to adorn the walls.]

In the semicircular compartment containing the window was a large bassò relievo in stucco, of which the subject appeared to be the destruction of the Titans (giants) by Jupiter, or perhaps, by Saturn (!), whose colossal head appeared in the centre. Bacchus was one of the great assistants of Jupiter in that combat; and the cup of Bacchus, or one of the same shape, appears on the right, as if thrown at the Titan. The subject is at present scarcely intelligible, having suffered much in the reparation of the roof. [And this fact may have led the author astray in his conjectures. Bechi says: 'Underneath this window is wrought in stucco a huge and bearded mask, from the pendant locks of which flow streams of water. Two tritons, with vases on their shoulders, are struggling to reach the centre of the fountain, and a shoal of dolphins, harnessed by cupids, are represented as sporting impatient at their chains.'

These would certainly be more befitting ornaments for a bath, than a *gigantomachia*.]

From the *frigidarium* a short passage opened into the street on the north, and a little recess is observable in it, where possibly another person sat to receive the money of the bathers. The third passage communicated with the hypocaust, or stoves, and these again with the street.

A door, uniform with that leading from the court, opened into apartment 18, in which was the *natatio*, or *natatorium*, *piscina*, or cold bath. Some may be inclined to apply the term *baptisterion* to this vase into which the bathers plunged. The word *piscina* is applied to the bath by the younger Pliny. It appears that *λουτήριον* was the Greek appellation. That this was

called *baptisterium* in the time of Pliny appears from this passage, considering its connection with the *frigidarium*: *Inde apodyterium balinei laxum et hilare excipit cella frigidaria in qua baptisterium amplum atque opacum.* [Hereupon vid. inf.]

This is perfectly preserved, and nothing is wanting but the water, which anciently gushed from a copper pipe opposite the entrance about four feet from the floor, and fell into a cistern being supplied by pipes, yet to be traced from the great reservoir near the *præfurnium*. This apartment is a circle enclosed by a square, in the angles of which are four alcoves, called by the ancients *scholæ*, a word derived from the Hebrew, and signifying repose.

The diameter of the circle is eighteen feet six inches. Round the whole runs a walk, or *ambulatory*, two feet four inches and a half wide. The *piscina*, or vase itself, is twelve feet ten inches in diameter, and has a seat eleven inches wide, surrounding it at the depth of ten inches below the lip, and two feet four inches from the bottom, allowing a depth of water equal to about three feet. The alcoves, or *scholæ*, are five feet two inches wide, by two feet half-an-inch deep. Their arches, which rise to the height of one foot eight inches, spring from a point five feet six inches above the floor.

The whole of the *piscina*, or *natio*, with its seat or step, the pavement of the *scholæ*, or the *ambulatorium*, is of white marble, and in perfect preservation. The roof is a dome, or rather a cone, of which a small part of the summit is destroyed. It appears to have been painted blue, and had an opening or window near the top, toward the south-west, possibly not glazed, as, being a cold bath, the increase of temperature was not required. The walls have been painted yellow, with certain branches here and there of green. The walls of the alcoves were blue or red, and the arches have a pretty relieved border in stucco.

About eight feet from the floor, a cornice runs round the whole, nearly eighteen inches high, coloured red, and adorned with stucco figures representing, in all appearance, the course on foot, on horseback, and in chariots. The *spina*, or perhaps the goal, is also visible; and, though much ruined, the chariot race and the running horses with their riders have an air of life and

verity, which seems to evince that they were at least copied from sculptures of the most brilliant period of the arts.

The *natatorium* of the baths of Diocletian was 200 feet long, by half that width, the *Aqua Martia* supplying copious streams of water, which spouted forth in grottos artificially contrived. With the magnificence of the capital, the *piscina* of Pompeii cannot pretend to vie; but nothing can be more elegant, or more aptly calculated for the purpose of bathing, than the chamber in question.

A doorway, the jambs of which are somewhat inclined, and prove that the folding doors which turned upon *umbilici*, or pivots, were calculated to shut by their own weight, conducted the visitor to the chamber 15, which was called either *tepidarium*, ἀλειπτήριον, *apodyterium*, *elæothesium*, or *unctuarium*; for, in *thermæ* of small dimensions, one chamber must have served for many of those purposes to which, in the imperial city, separate apartments were allotted.

It is therefore probable, that though the *frigidarium* served as an *apodyterium* to the cold bathers, those who took the warm bath, undressed in the second chamber, 15, which was warmed not only by a portable fire-place, or *foculare*, called by the Italians *bracciere*, but by means of a suspended pavement, heated by the distant fires of the stove of the *caldarium*, or *laconicum*. [This seems quite a mistake, and is entirely at variance with the section of the baths given by Gell himself. The *caldarium* only had *suspensuræ* according to Bechi. The *tepidarium* was warmed only by the large fire-place. In the picture from the baths of Titus, the matter is doubtful; for according to the copies we have of it, a part of the *tepidarium* seems to have *suspensuræ*.] The temperature did not, probably, much exceed that necessary to impart an agreeable warmth, and supply the want of the more cumbrous articles of dress.

In the *tepidarium* are three seats of bronze, about six feet long, and one broad. (They were placed along the side walls, while the *foculare* stood across the bottom of the apartment.) The seats are inscribed with the name of the donor, *M. Nigidius Vaccula*, whose heraldic cognizance, if that expression were admissible, was a pun upon his name, the legs of the seats being those of a cow, whose head forms their upper ornament, and

whose entire figure is the decoration of the *foculare*. The inscription runs thus: *M. Nigidius Vaccula*, P. S. (*pecunia sua*.)

The hearth, 16, is about seven feet long, and two feet six broad. It is of bronze, and is ornamented by thirteen battle-mented summits and a lotus at the angles. Within there is an iron lining, calculated to resist the heat of the embers, and the bottom is formed by bars of brass, on which are laid bricks supporting the pumice-stones for the reception of the charcoal.

This apartment was decorated in a manner suitable to its appearance. The pavement of white mosaic, with two small borders of black, the cielings elegantly painted, the walls covered with crimson, and the cornice supported by statues, all assisted in rendering this a beautiful and splendid place of relaxation for the inhabitants of Pompeii. The cornice begins at four feet three inches above the pavement, and is one foot two inches and a half high, the *abacus*, which is five inches and a half, included. Above this, the figures (*Telamones*) with the entablature rise to the height of three feet five inches more, and above these is the flowery Corinthian tracery. These figures are about two feet in height, stand upon little square plinths or dies of three inches high, and hold their arms in a posture fitted for assisting the head to bear the superimposed weight. They are of *terra cotta*, and stand with their backs placed against square pilasters, projecting one foot from the wall, and with an interval of one foot three inches and a half between each. The use of these figures in the baths of Pompeii, by whatever name they may have been called, was evidently to ornament the separations between a number of niches or recesses, in which the garments of those who went into the *sudatorium*, or inner apartment, to perspire, were laid up till their return.

The heat in this chamber was a dry warmth, produced by the *hypocaustum* and the *foculare*, and consequently an agreeable place for perfuming, anointing, and all other operations after the *sudatorium*. The ancients had an astonishing number of oils, soaps, and perfumes, and their wash-balls seem to have had the general name of *smegmata* [Soaps, no doubt; still it ought to be mentioned, that regular soap, *sapo*, is not mentioned by any author before Pliny, (xviii. 12, 51), who calls it a Gallic invention, but which was also very well known to the Germans. Moreover,

Pliny says: *Galliarum inventum rutilandis capillis*, and the *pilæ Mattiacæ*, or German soap-balls (Mart. xiv. 27), as also the *spuma Batava* (Id. viii. 23, 20), or *caustica* (Id. xiv. 26), are everywhere mentioned as means for dyeing the hair, and not for purifying it. They were therefore rather pomades than soaps. See Beckmann, *Beitr. z. Gesch. d. Erfind.* iv. 1, seqq. It is also very possible, that when Ovid says (*Art. Am.* iii. 163), *Femina canitiem Germanis inficit herbis*, and (*Amor.* i. 14), *Ipsa dabas capiti mista venena tuo*, nothing else is meant by him than such a pomade, whence its use might be extended backward up to the time of Augustus. Comp. Boettig. *Sab.* i. p. 121, 142.] Among the oils, are named the *mendesium*, *megalium*, *metopium*, *amaracinum*, *cyprinum*, *susinum*, *nardinum*, *spicatum*, and *jasminum*; and Heliogabalus never bathed without oil of saffron or *crocus*, which was thought most precious. [We might add to these many others from Pliny, and among others *rosaceum*. See Oudend. on *Appul. Met.* x. p. 717.] We hear also of nitre and *aphronitrum* in the baths. To these were added all kinds of odoriferous powders called *diapasmata*. The *cyprium* was not only a perfume, but was supposed to put a stop to further perspiration, and its name has been retained to the present day.

Persons of lower conditions sometimes used, instead of soap, meal of lupins, called *lomentum*, which, with common meal, is still used in the north of England, while the rich carried their own most precious unguents to the *thermæ* in phials of alabaster, gold, and glass, which were of such common use, both in ordinary life and at funerals, that they have very frequently been found in modern times, when they acquired the name of *lachrymatories*, from a mistaken notion concerning their original destination.

Pliny mentions that in the *apodyterium*, or *tepidarium*, was the *elæothesia*, or place for anointing, called also in Latin *unctorium*, where persons, called from their office, were employed. It is to be supposed that in the great *thermæ* of the capital this *ἀλειπτήριον*, or *unctuarium*, was a separate chamber. A verse of Lucilius, quoted by Green in his work *De Rusticatione Romanorum*, describes the operations which took place in this apartment:

Scabor, suppilor, desquamor, pumicor, ornor,  
Expilor, pingor—

The third apartment, 12, for the use of those who frequented the hot baths, is entered by a door opening from the *tepidarium*, which closed by its own weight, and it is probable was generally shut, to prevent the admission of cold or less heated air. Vitruvius says that the *laconicum* and *sudatorium* ought to join the *tepidarium*; and that, when these were separate rooms, they were entered by two doors from the *apodyterium*.

This chamber, though not decorated with all the art displayed in the *tepidarium*, possibly because the constant ascent of steam would have destroyed the colours of the ceiling or vault, was, nevertheless, delicately ornamented with mouldings of stucco, which have an elegant and beautiful effect. [Comp. Zahn, *Ornamente und Gem.* t. 94.] Not only is the pavement suspended in the manner recommended by Vitruvius, but the walls are so constructed, that a column of heated air encloses the apartment on all sides.

This is not effected by flues, but by one universal flue, formed by a lining of bricks or tiles, strongly connected with the outer wall by cramps of iron, yet distant about four inches from it, so as to leave a space by which the hot air might ascend from the furnace, and increase, almost equally, the temperature of the whole room.

Some parts of this casing having fallen, the whole of this admirable contrivance is now apparent, and the pavement having, in some places, been forced in by the fall of some part of the vault, the method of suspending it was, at the period of the excavation, sufficiently visible.

It will be observed that scarcely anything was placed in symmetry with the centre; the circular window in the alcove, with its ornamental dolphins in stucco, being to the left, and the two side-windows in the vault being neither equal in size nor situation.

The most striking object in the apartment is the *labrum*, 14, placed in the centre of the alcove, which forms one extremity of the *caldarium*, or the hot-water bath. This consists in a vase or tazza of white marble, not less than eight feet in diameter, and, internally, not more than eight inches in depth. In the centre is a projection, or *umbo*, rising from the bottom, in the middle of which a brass tube threw up the water, which, judging from

the customary process in an oriental bath, was probably cold, or as nearly so, as was judged expedient for pouring upon the head of the bather before he quitted this heated atmosphere.

The *labrum* was presented to the *thermæ* of Pompeii by a private individual, whose name, together with the value, is inscribed in letters of bronze, yet remaining on the lip of the basin. CN . MELISSÆO . CN . F . APRO . M . STAIO . M . F . RVFO . II . VIR . ITER . ID . LABRVM . EX . D . D . EX . P . I . F . C . CONSTAT . HSP . (sic!) C . C . L . [The author is here quite mistaken. The inscription contains nothing at all about a gift, and it is not even copied correctly. Bechi, who copied it from the rim of the *labrum*, gives it as follows (Comp. Orelli, *Inscr.*, n. 3277): CN . MELISSÆO . CN . F . APRO . M . STAIO . M . F . RVFO . II . VIR . ITER . ID . LABRVM . EX . D . D . EX . P . P . F . C . CONSTAT . H . S . IO . C . C . L . Still Bechi's explanation—*Cn. Melissæo, Cn. filio, Apro, M. Staio, M. filio, Rufo duumviris iterum jure dicundo labrum ex decurionum decreto ex pecunia publico faciendum curarunt. Constat. H.S. IOCCCL.*, is correct in the sense, but not grammatical.] The position of this *labrum* seems in some respects to accord with the instructions given by Vitruvius for the construction of such a vase: *Scholas autem labrorum ita fieri oportet spatiosas, ut, cum priores occupaverint loca, circumspectantes reliqui recte stare possint.* Vit. v. 10. He says also: *Labrum sub lumine faciendum videtur ne stantes circum suis umbris obscurant lucem.* Even this, as applied to our *labrum*, is not very intelligible. [On the contrary, every thing agrees with Vitruvius, for above the *labrum* is a wide opening, through which the light fell in, and this is the *lumen*.]

Andreas Baccius, who has written and collected much of what the ancients have left us on the subject of baths, says that some *labra* existed made of glass; and he very sensibly concludes, that all the great *tazza* of Rome, like that at present on the Quirinal, were originally *labra* of the public or private baths of the city. Ficoroni mentions *labra* in Rome of basalt, granite, porphyry, and alabaster, and observes that many of these had a lion's head in the centre. Mention is also made of the *labrum* in a private bath by Cicero, in a letter to his wife Terentia: *Labrum*



*si non est in balneo, fac ut sit.* [Bechi too mentions many antique *labra*, and so also Stratico.]

The opening for the lamp, which has been formerly noticed as giving light, on one side to the Doric portico, and on the other to the *caldarium*, is visible above the *labrum*, and had, anciently, a convex glass to prevent the entrance of cold air from without. [In the *apodyterium* also, there was a similar opening in the wall under the large window, which had probably a like destination. Bechi speaks of it as if the glass were still in existence.]

From the pavement of the *caldarium*, which was of white *tesserae*, with two small borders of black, bathers ascended by two steps, so as to sit down conveniently upon the third or marble wall, one foot four inches broad, which formed the brink of the vase or vat of hot water. Thence one step dividing the whole depth of the cistern, not exceeding two feet and half an inch, permitted them to immerse themselves by degrees in the heated fluid. The whole length of the cistern is fifteen feet, and the breadth four. About ten persons might have sat upon the marble pavement without inconvenience at the same moment, immersed in the hot water. It is evident from the shallowness of this cistern, that persons must have sat on the pavement in order to have been sufficiently immersed; and, accordingly, the side next the north wall is constructed with marble, sloping like the back of a chair, in an angle well adapted to the support of the body in that position. Hot water entered this bath, 13, at one of the angles, immediately from the caldron, 9, which boiled on the other side of the wall. There appears to have been a moveable stone in the pavement, near this cistern, possibly for permitting the entrance of a column of hot air on certain occasions (?)

This chamber, from the water which must have fallen on the pavement, and the distillation caused by the vapour from so great a quantity of heated liquid, must have always been wet, and must have had an outlet called *fusorium*, to which the floor inclined. [Not on this account; for the *suspensurae* were generally so laid. Vit. v. 10, 2. *Suspensurae caldarium ita sunt faciendae, uti primum sesquipedalibus tegulis solum sternatur inclinatum ad hypocaustum, uti pila cum mittatur non possit intro resistere.* It was intended that the fire should have, by this means, a better draught.] Perhaps the opening near the hot bath served in part

for this purpose. The floor was found much damaged and broken in by the fall of a part of the arch, on its first discovery.

The seats in this chamber were probably of wood, as the whole must constantly have been in a state of humid heat, which would have corroded furniture of bronze, like those of *Vaccula* in the *tepidarium*. In that portion of the vaulted roof still remaining, are no fewer than four openings for the admission of light, and the transmission of hot air and vapour. These must have been glazed or closed with linen windows called *vela*, for it was probably previous to that common use of glass, which evidently prevailed at Pompeii, that the brazen shields or circular shutters, mentioned by Vitruvius as hanging by chains, for the purpose of opening and shutting the windows of the *laconicum* or *sudatorium*, were necessary. It appears from that author, that these shields were lowered to open, or raised to close, the circular openings in the roof of the *laconicum*. Over the *labrum* is seen one of these circular windows. None of these apartments could have had a cheerful light; and when the brazen shields were in use, the darkness must have increased with the increase of temperature. [In consequence of the author's false conception of the *laconicum*, which he shares with many others, he could not have formed any other judgment. Unquestionably these windows were glazed, and the baths were really dark only in ancient times, when the use of glass was either not at all, or but very little, known, and *rimæ* were consequently used.]

It may be supposed that in an establishment so small as this of Pompeii, this inner room, or *caldarium*, might unite in itself more than one of the numerous appellations in use in the Roman capital.

From the *frigidarium*, 17, a very narrow passage ran to the furnace, 9, upon which were placed caldrons, to the number of three, one above another, and, possibly, as may be gathered from an inspection of the ruins, placed in three columns, of three caldrons each (?), so that the water in the uppermost or ninth vase, nearest the cisterns 10 and 11, would be very nearly cold.

The caldron immediately above the flames was of course boiling, and on the water being withdrawn for use, it was contrived that an equal portion should replace it from the *tepidarium*, into which at the same time the *frigidarium* was dis-

charged. It does not seem improbable, from the appearance of the place, that there were three columns of these caldrons at Pompeii, dependent on a single fire, and if so, the upper caldron of the column nearest the cistern, 10, contained water nearly cold, and hence that was probably derived which rose in the centre of the *labrum*, and must have had a higher level.

From one of these, or the cisterns adjoining, the circular bath, or *natatorium*, was also supplied, through tubes yet to be traced in the wall.

This is the most essential part of Gell's description. Next to this bath, though not in any way communicating with it, was a second, almost the same in its arrangements, though on a smaller scale, and generally considered to have been the women's bath (which also agrees with Varro, *L. L.* ix. 41, *Sp.*), so that 3 is the *apodyterium*, 2 the *frigidarium*, 4 the *tepidarium*, 5 the *caldarium*, 6 the hot-water bath, and 7 the *labrum*. The rooms lying round the regular bath, which have no exits but towards the streets, and are not marked with figures in the sketch, were probably *tabernæ*, in no way connected with the building composing the bath.

Small as this plan may appear in comparison with the great *thermæ* of Rome, still the discovery of it is of far more moment than all the other ruins existing, as here we have at least the necessary parts tolerably complete, and agreeing with the accounts given by authors. The ruins of Badenweiler, which Hirt (251) looked on as the main source of our knowledge about the ancient baths, appear very insignificant when compared with these. Next to the baths of Pompeii, the painting from the baths of Titus is perhaps of the most importance, (see Plate III. p. 305), principally because the names being written leave no doubt about the destination of the particular *cellæ* and other parts.

Let us now compare the remains of ancient baths with each other, and with the accounts of Vitruvius, Pliny, Palladius, and others, and we shall find the most essential parts of a Roman bath to be these.

I. An *apodyterium*, connected perhaps with the *elæothesium* and *unctorium*.

II. A *frigidarium*, or *cella frigidaria*, by which we must not understand, with Gell, a mere unwarmed room, but the cold bath

itself. Pliny says in his description of the Laurentian villa, (ii. 17, 11): *Inde balinei cella frigidaria spatiosa et effusa, cujus in contrariis parietibus duo baptisteria velut ejecta sinuantur, abunde capacia, si innare in proximo cogites*; and of his Tuscan villa, (v. 6, 25): *Inde apodyterium balinei laxum et hilare excipit cella frigidaria, in qua baptisterium amplum et opacum*. While then in Pompeii the *cella frigidaria* had the basin in the middle, and the proper cool-room, which also served as *apodyterium*, lay before it, in the former villa at least, the *baptisteria* were at the alcove-shaped ends of the *frigidarium*, so that what was there separated, 17 and 18, seems here to have formed one room. But *baptisterium* may be taken to mean the same as *piscina*, according to Sidon. *Ep.* ii. 2. *Huic basilicæ appendix piscina forinsecus, seu si græcari mavis, baptisterium ab oriente connectitur*.

The *frigidarium* in the baths of Pompeii and those of Stabiae has just the same form; and probably the rooms which appear similar, in the sketch in the baths of Titus, and which Palladio pronounces to be temples, and Hirt *laconica*, are also *frigidaria*. In the baths of Constantine (Palladio, *le terme de Rom.* t. xiv.) there are six such saloons, which are declared to be baths of all three temperatures.

III. The *tepidarium*; of this division we know least, and it may even be doubted whether the usual assumption that the tepid bath was there, be a correct one. In Pompeii, at least, in the room which is rightly taken to be it (n. 15), there is no apparatus for bathing. Pliny says (v. 6, 26): *Frigidariæ cellæ connectitur media, cui sol benignissime præsto est; caldariæ magis; prominet enim. In hac tres descensiones*, etc. The *media* can only be the *tepidaria*; but whilst the *baptisterium* of the *frigidarium*, and the *tres descensiones* of the *caldarium* are mentioned, no *labrum*, nor *piscina* of the *tepidarium*, is named. Such a receptacle, with luke-warm water, was probably in the middle of the *frigidarium* itself: *Si natare latius aut tepidius velis, in area piscina est; in proximo puteus, ex quo possis rursus adstringi, si pæniteat teporis*. Thus also in the ruins of Badenweiler, a double water-bath only seems to be admissible; and if in the baths of Hippias, one of the rooms, perhaps the ἡρέμα χλιαρόμενος, is to pass for a *tepidarium*, still there were *piscinæ* or

*descensiones* only in the cold and warm bath. In the often-mentioned picture, it is true that there is a *tepidarium* next to the *sudatio*, but it cannot be seen whether there was a *labrum* in it or not.

But there are two passages in Celsus, i. 3, which are most calculated to raise doubts about that acceptance. *Communio deinde omnibus sunt post fatigationem cibum sumpturis, ubi paullum ambulaverunt, si balneum non est, calido loco, vel in sole, vel ad ignem ungi atque sudare: si est, ante omnia in tepidario residere; deinde ubi paullum conquieverunt, intrare et descendere in solium.* The second passage from c. 4, which contains the whole economy of the bath, is still plainer: *Si in balneum venit, sub veste primum paullum in tepidario insudare, ibi ungi, tum transire in calidarium: ubi sudarit in solium non descendere, &c.* There the *tepidarium* is a warm room, where a person sits down as in the *sudatio*, which has only a higher temperature. Those who wished to bathe must go into another room, the *caldarium*, *intrare et descendere in solium.* We may therefore assume that there was not, at least in all cases, a tepid bath.

IV. The *caldarium*; which was, at least in later times, the most important part of all. We must here, after Vitruvius and the Pompeian baths, make four distinct divisions: (1) the room itself, *sudatio*; (2) the *laconicum*; (3) the *labrum*; and (4) the basin for the hot water, or the highest degree of the warm bath.

The whole room had *suspensuræ*, that is, the floor rested on small pillars, so that underneath it the heat and even the flame from the fire-places might be disseminated. See Winkelm. *W.* ii. tab. iv.; Hirt, tab. xxiv. Fig. III., and in the picture from the baths of Titus (p. 305). The walls were hollow, and usually the warmth was conveyed in pipes from the *hypocausta* between them, as we see in the baths described by Fernow. In Pompeii the whole space between the regular wall and the interior one was hollow, and without pipes, which is represented in the sketch by the white line running round: the same arrangement appears in the *caldarium* and *tepidarium* of the women's bath.

At one end of the *caldarium* was the *laconicum*, the part most difficult to be explained. Schneider (385) has collected with great diligence the passages relating thereto, but his expla-

nation is not perfectly clear, and must at least remain uncertain, as he has not taken into consideration any ancient monument, not even the painting from the baths of Titus, which is here of special moment, and which had already put Galiani on the right way. What Vitruvius says, (c. 11), entirely agrees with the arrangement of the *caldarium* at Pompeii, though we judge fit to assume that there was no regular *laconicum* there, but merely a common *sudatio*. (In the painting, the *cella*, which is designated as *concamerata sudatio*, appears as a small cupola-shaped building, into which the flame streams above the floor, through a broad pipe. Underneath is to be found the name *laconicum*, and under the arch, on which two chains are visible, the name *clipeus*. Comparing with this the passage of Vitruvius about the *clipeus* (10): *mediumque lumen in hemisphærio relinquatur ex eoque clypeum æneum catenis pendeat, per cujus reductiones et demissiones perficietur sudationis temperatura*, we should imagine a valve, which hung at the orifice in the middle of the arch, in order to allow the excess of warm air to escape; but this idea does not at all agree with the painting. On the contrary, it seems that we must assume from this, that the *laconicum* was by no means the semi-circular-shaped recess where those desirous of perspiring sat, but the cupola-like *hypocaustum*, which rose in this alcove above the floor, and that it was closed by the *clipeus*. When this was drawn up by the chains, or let down within, the heat and the flame itself streamed out more vehemently, and heightened the temperature of the alcove; and perhaps we must so understand what Suet. Aug. 84, calls, *ad flammam sudare*, although Celsus (i. 3) mentions, outside of the bath too, the *ungi et sudare ad ignem*. We are further decided in assuming the *laconicum* to be something different from the alcove, where the sweaters sat, from the consideration that it seems inconceivable how this alcove could possibly have another temperature than the whole sweating bath, as it was only a part of the same, and was separated from it by no partition wall. But if the *laconicum* were placed there in the manner above given, then the heat must have been greatest next to it. With this idea of the *laconicum*, best agrees also what Vitruvius (vii. 10) says about the oven for the preparation of *atramentum*, which was also to be arranged *uti laconicum*. Galiani, too, has taken this view of the subject; probably Schneider

likewise ; while Hirt, Gell, and Bechi, are perfectly at fault, and Stratico also as well as Marini misunderstand Vitruvius. The error appears to arise from the word *hemisphærium*, which suggested to them the alcove, in which at Pompeii the *labrum* is. But Vitruvius means the cupola above the *laconicum*, as it is in the picture, and this is a *hemisphærium*. By this means everything is clear, and we see that the *clipeus* did not hang on the opening in the arch of the alcove, in order by opening it to moderate the temperature, but, on the contrary, served to let the heat confined in the *laconicum* stream out, and increase the temperature of the *sudatio*.

At Pompeii no such arrangement is to be found. In the alcove is the *labrum* already described, and on the use of which opinions are likewise divided. The explanation of Bechi, that it was designed for those who wished to take only a partial bath, does not seem very probable ; for the proper warm-bath, which was in the same apartment, was so arranged with steps, that the bather could sit at any depth he chose. Gell's supposition seems correct, that it contained cold water, into which a person plunged after the sweating-bath, or with which he was sprinkled.

Lastly ; at the opposite end of this room was the hot-water bath, already described. The name we should like to assign to it, at least in the baths of Pompeii, is *alveus*, and the proportions agree with the plans given by Vitruvius. And then what Vitruvius says, becomes explicable : *quanta longitudo fuerit, tertia demta latitudo sit præter scholam labri et alvei* ; and in the like manner it reaches, in agreement with the same, as far as the wall.

The *scholæ* were the free spaces between the receptacles of water and the wall, where those who intended to bathe, or only visited the bath for the sake of amusement, stood or sat.

The water was warmed, according to Vitruvius, by erecting three kettles : *Ænea supra hypocaustum tria sunt componenda, unum caldarium, alterum tepidarium, tertium frigidarium, et ita collocanda, uti ex tepidario in caldarium, quantum aquæ caldæ exierit, influat. De frigidario in tepidarium ad eundem modum*. This might be effected in more ways than one. The simplest was to place the kettles one over the other, and join them by means of pipes, and we thus find them in the bath dis-

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covered at the country-house of Diomedes at Pompeii. See *Voyage pitt. de Naples*, livr. 10 et 11, pl. 79; Fernow on Wink. ii. tab. iv. C. n. 2; although there are only two kettles there; but we find it different in the painting from the bath of Titus.

There are two expressions still requiring explanation. Firstly, the *solium* is often mentioned, and by some understood to mean an apparatus in the *caldarium*, by which single persons might sit and take a shallow bath. Festus, 242. *Alvei quoque lavandi gratia instituti, quo singuli descendunt, (solla) solia dicuntur.* See Martial, ii. 42. Hence also Celsus says, ii. 17, and elsewhere, *in solio desidendum est.*

To the question, how is the *balneum* distinguished from the *thermæ*? (Mart. ix. 76), people are accustomed to answer, that *balneum* means the cold bath, or the *cella frigidaria*, and *thermæ*, the heated rooms. Still this seems quite inadmissible; for *balneum* is especially used of the warm bath in opposition to the cold. Cels. i. 1: *Prodest etiam interdum balneo, interdum aquis frigidis uti; modo ungi, modo id ipsum negligere.* iii. 24: *Per omne tempus utendum est exercitatione, fricatione et, si hyems est, balneo; si ælas, frigidis nationibus.* In the painting there is a particular *cella* by the side of the *sudatio*, with the inscription *balneum*; unquestionably a warm bath, for the *cella frigidaria* is given in addition behind the *tepidarium*. We may therefore suppose that common warm-baths are to be understood. Such a bath, into which warm water only was conducted, might very suitably have been of wood; not so *thermæ*, which presupposed a *tepidarium* and *caldarium*, and must have had *hypocausta*.

The remaining arrangements and decorations of the baths are, even in Pompeii, elegant; yet there the ornaments appear exceedingly mean, compared with the splendour lavished on establishments of this sort at Rome, as may be best conceived from the eighty-sixth letter of Seneca, who, after describing the simplicity in the bath of the great Scipio, says: *At nunc quis est, qui sic lavari sustineat, pauper sibi videtur ac sordidus, nisi parietes magnis et pretiosis orbibus refulserunt; nisi Alexandrina marmora Numidicis crustis distincta sunt; nisi illis undique operosa et in picturæ modum variata camera; nisi Thasius lapis, quondam rarum in aliquo spectaculum templo, piscinas*



*nostras circumdedit, in quas multa sudatione corpora exinanita demittimus; nisi aquam argentea epistomia fuderunt. Et adhuc plebeias fistulas loquor, quid cum ad balnea libertinorum pervenero? Quantum statuarum! quantum columnarum nihil sustinentium, sed in ornamentum posilarum; impensæ causa! quantum aquarum per gradus cum fragore labentium! Eo deliciarum pervenimus, ut nisi gemmas calcare nolimus. In order that the temperature of the water might always continue the same, warm water constantly flowed in: recens semper velut ex calido fonte currebat. Not less magnificent is the balneum Etrusci described by Stat. Silv. i. 5, of which he says (v. 47):*

*Nil ibi plebeium: nusquam Temesea notabis  
Æra, sed argento felix propellitur unda,  
Argentoque cadit, labrisque nitentibus intrat.*

What Seneca says of the *camera* is more clearly expressed by Statius: *vario fastigia vitro in species animosque nitent*. It was mosaic in glass; also mentioned by Pliny, xxxvi. 25, 64. Compare the description of the same bath in Mart. vi. 42, and Lucian's bath of Hippias.

In addition to other things, the great public *thermæ* were well supplied with amusements of all sorts. Even libraries were introduced into them; and there is no great bath, from the time of Agrippa to Constantine, in which a place was not assigned to them in the plan. Nevertheless, corroborations from ancient writers are still wanting; for, with the exception of a passage of Vopiscus, in the life of Probus, (2), *Usus autem sum—præcipue libris ex bibliotheca Ulpia, ætate mea in thermis Diocletianis*, we do not remember any other mention of it. But when Hirt explains the words of Seneca, *De tranq. an.* 9: *Jam enim inter balnearia et thermas bibliotheca quoque ut necessarium domus ornamentum expolitur*, thus: 'It was considered as a necessary ornament to have libraries between the bathing saloons and *thermæ*;' this is only a new proof of great carelessness; for it evidently means that libraries served no longer for literary wants only, but it was the fashion to have them in the house, and they were considered quite as necessary appendages as the bath.

Little is known of the public baths of Rome in the time of Gallus; it was not till some years afterwards that Agrippa built

his *thermæ*, together with the *Pantheon*, and these were followed by several grand buildings. Till that time, the baths most likely belonged to private speculators, and the bathers had to pay; hence they who wished to curry favour with the people, would sometimes, in addition to other amusements, offer a free use of the baths. So Dio Cass. relates of Faustus, (xxxvii. 51): *τά τε λούτρα καὶ ἔλαιον προῖκα αὐτοῖς παρέσχευεν*, of Agrippa, who as ædile granted baths gratis all the year through to men and women, (xlix. 43), and of Augustus, who returning from Germany, *τῇ δῆμῳ προῖκα τά τε λούτρα καὶ τοὺς κουρέας τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην παρέσχευεν*. Soon after Agrippa left his *thermæ* to the people, *ὥστε προῖκα αὐτοὺς λουῖσθαι*. Dio Cass. liv. 29. But even after the *Neronianæ* and *Titinæ* were added to these, the private establishments for bathing still remained to satisfy the wants in this respect. Martial mentions four of these, *balnea quatuor*, (v. 70, 4). They are probably those named, (ii. 14, 11):

Nec Fortunati spernit, nec balnea Fausti,  
Nec Grylli tenebras, Æoliamque Lupi  
Nam thermis iterumque, iterumque, iterumque lavatur;

consequently four times. Besides these, there is the bath of Etruscus, and the *impudici balnea Tigellini*, iii. 20, 16. Whether the *προῖκα λούεσθαι* continued in these public baths, cannot be determined; only it must appear strange, that everywhere the *quadrans* is mentioned, though nowhere the *gratis lavare*. Hor. *Sat.* i. 3, 137; Mart. iii. 30, 4; viii. 42; Juven. vi. 447; ii. 152; Sen. *Epist.* 86, *balneum res quadrantaria*. Are we always to refer this to the *balnea meritoria*, or was it only the lowest price of admission for the commoner class, or was this trifle paid in the public baths also, in order to cover the necessary expenses? It is erroneously concluded from Juvenal (vi. 47), that the women paid nothing; but the above-cited passage from Dio Cassius sufficiently contradicts this notion. Most probably, Roman matrons did not visit such public baths where the *quadrans* was paid, and Juvenal wishes to describe the customs of the men. How general such *balnea meritoria* were, not only in Rome, but elsewhere in Italy also, is seen from Plin. *Epist.* ii. 17, 26.

As far as regards bathing, it is probable that in more ancient

times the use of the cold-water bath was the prevailing one. Hence also *Philematium*, in *Plaut.*, *Mostel.* i. 3, 1, says:

Jam pridem, ecaster, frigida non lavi magis lubenter,  
Nec quom me melius, mea Scapha, rear esse defecatam:

and persons of simple habits of life, such as the elder Pliny, adhered to this, (*Plin. Epist.* iii. 5, 11): *Post solem plerumque frigida lavabatur.* *Comp.* vi. 16, 5. Nevertheless, they had *caldaria* then also, as Seneca mentions in the case of Scipio himself, but had not yet begun to think about a temperature, concerning which Seneca says: *Similis incendio, adeo quidem, ut convictum in aliquo scelere servum vivum lavari oporteat. Nihil mihi videtur jam interesse, ardeat balneum, an caleat.* This seems to be a little oratorical exaggeration, though Celsus (i. 3) mentions a *servens balneum*, and Trimalchio says, in *Petron.*, 72, *Conjiciamus nos in balneum. Sic calet, tanquam furnus.* Perspiration and appetite, which earlier generations obtained by corporeal exertion, and agricultural labour, were attained by a later race, that lived for the most part in idle inactivity, by means of *sudatoria* and hot baths. Thus Columella judged of his time, and after mentioning a Cincinnatus, Fabricius, and Curius Dentatus, complains: *Omnes enim patresfamilie falce et aratro relictis intra murum correpsimus, et in circis potius ac theatris, quam in segetibus et vinetis manus movemus. Mox deinde, ut apte veniamus ad ganeas, quotidianam crudilitatem Laconicis excoquimus, et exsucto sudore sitim quærimus, noctesque libidinibus et ebrietatibus, dies ludo vel somno consumimus, ac nosmetipsos ducimus fortunatos, quod nec orientem solem vidimus, nec occidentem.* *Comp.* *Juven.* i. 143; *Sen. Epist.* 51. They who desired to use the bath through all degrees of temperature, sought first to give their body the preparation which was considered necessary, by some sort of lighter gymnastics, ball-play, *halteres*, and the like; and the baths were always provided with rooms suitable for this purpose. On the arrival of the hour for opening the *thermæ*, a signal was given with a bell, as we see from *Mart.* xiv. 163, where, under the Lemma *tintinnabulum*, he says:

Redde pilam: sonat æs thermarum: ludere pergis?  
Virgine vis sola lotus abire domum.

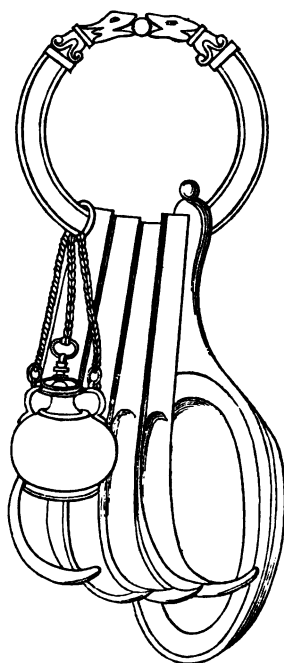
Such a person betook himself, most probably, into the *tepidarium*, in order not to be exposed suddenly to the heat of the

*caldarium*, where they were anointed with oil, as Celsus expressly says; and it is probable that this was the place generally assigned to that operation, although we read also of special *unctoria*. It is strange that in the *Tuscum* of Pliny, where there was a *cella media*, or *tepidaria*, no *unctorium* is mentioned, as is the case in the *Laurens*, where, on the other hand, there seems to have been no *tepidarium*. The anointing with oil took place both before and after the bath, and even after they had already stepped into the bath, they sometimes left it again, to be anointed a second time, after which they again betook themselves to the bath. Celsus, i. 3.

They took the oil with them to the bath, (or rather, the slave carried it), as well as the *strigiles* and *lintea* to dry themselves. Hence Varro says (R. R. i. 55, 4): *Dominum in balnea sequitur*. Though the simplicity of earlier times was content with the pure oil only, this at a later period was changed for costly salves, of which we have already spoken. No doubt people anointed themselves at other times besides at the bath, in order to reek of perfume the whole day through. Sen. *Epist.* 86: *Parum est sumere unguentum, ni bis die terque renovetur, ne evanescat in corpore. Quid quod odore, tanquam suo, gloriantur*. See Boettig. *Sab.* i. 146; and concerning the *alabastra*, his *Die Aldobrand. Hochz.*, 47.

The *strigiles*, or scrapers, are known to us from the *gymnasia*. In the baths they were used for scraping away oil and impurities from the skin. In the *Mus Borb.* we have a whole bathing apparatus, consisting of four *strigiles*, an *unguentarium*, for the form of which the name *ampulla olearia*, (*ampullæ cosmianæ*, Mart. iii. 82, 26; xiv. 110), seems to be very suitable, and a *patera*, with handle, or by whatever name this pan-like utensil is to be called, an engraving of which follows. All these utensils hang on a ring, which could be opened, to let them be taken off, and bring to mind the passage of Apuleius, *Florid.* ii. 9, 34, where we read of Hippias: *Qui magno in cœtu prædicavit fabricatam sibimet ampullam quoque oleariam, quam gestabat, lenticulari forma, tereti ambitu, pressula rotunditate; juxtaque honestam strigileculam, recta fastigatione clausulæ, flexa tubulatione ligulæ, ut et ipsa in manu capulo motaretur, et sudor ex ea rivulo laberetur*. Thus also, just after,

he connects both : *strigilem et ampullam, cæteraque balnei utensilia nundinis mercari*. The description of the *strigiles* quite agrees with the form of those at Pompeii, and that in the



painting from the baths of Titus ; for they all have a hollow, in which, when scraped over the body, sweat, oil, or water collected, and ran off as it were by a gutter. Boettiger supposes (*Aldo-brand. Hochz.*, 159,) that the *strigiles* of the *athletæ* were different from those used at the bath, which, however, cannot easily be shewn to have been the case from the existing monuments.

The third utensil is explained to be a *vas pоторium*, because it was customary after the bath *os calida*, or *frigida fovere*, (Celsus, i. 3), and frequently. If we compare what the parasite (in Plaut. *Pers.* i. 3, 43) says :

Cynica esse e gente oportet parasitum probe :  
Ampullam, strigiles, scaphium, soccos, pallium,  
Marsupium habeat ;

we might perhaps apply the name *scaphium* thereto, though we gather nothing from thence respecting its use.

To the bath-utensils belong, lastly, the *lintea*, the linen cloths for drying with. That linen ones only were used for this purpose, has been shewn by Bekker, (*Nachträge zum Augusteum*, 45,) and the use by Trimalchio (in Petron. 28) of woollen cloths for that purpose, is an eccentricity. So also in Appul. *Met.* i. 17, 72 : *Ac simul ex promptuario oleum unctui et lintea tersui et cætera huic eidem usui propter ociter, et hospitem meum produc ad proximas balneas* ; Plaut., *Curc.* iv. 4, 22, *linteumque extersui*. These, and not cloths, are meant by Martial, xiv. 51 :

Pergamus has misit, curvo destringere ferro :  
Non tam sæpe teret lintea fullo ubi.

After this process was over, they passed into the *caldarium*, and took their place on the seats that ran up towards the wall in the manner of steps, probably by degrees higher and nearer to the *laconicum*, then again further off, according to the degree of heat desired. After having succeeded in causing perspiration, they stepped either into the hot-water bath, or got themselves sprinkled with water, generally perhaps cold, or retired immediately into the *frigidarium*, in order to brace the relaxed skin by the cold bath. Petron. 28 : *Itaque intravimus balneum, et sudore calefacti momento temporis ad frigidam eximus*, where Erhard cites Sidon. *Carm.* 19 :

Intrate algentes post balnea torrida fluctus,  
Ut solidet calidam frigore lymphæ cutem.

See Martial, vi. 42, 16.

This manner of bathing was of course not always pursued throughout, many contenting themselves with the cold, others with the warm-bath. The women, even the noblest of them, visited the public baths as well as the men, as we see from the narrative of Atia, the mother of Octavian, who, after the fabulous rencontre in the temple of Apollo, had borne on her person ever after the indelible mark of a serpent : *adeo ut mox publicis balneis perpetuo abstinerit*. This led afterwards to the gross immorality of men and women bathing together, often alluded to by Juvenal and Martial ; but we must not believe that this impropriety was general. On the contrary, they were no doubt *impudicæ mulieres* who did so, the number of whom at Rome

was very great. Hence Quintilian says, *Inst.* v. 9 : *Signum est adulteræ, lavari cum viris* ; but still he could not have been living at the time when this licentiousness was interdicted ; for Hadrian was the first to put an end to the disorder, though only for a brief period. Dio Cass. lxi. 8. Spartian., *Had.* 18 : *Lavacra pro sexibus separavit*. The renewal afterwards of these interdicts shows that the evil could not be eradicated.

The hour for bathing was, as is well known, that preceding dinner-time, but, like that, it varied partly on account of the different length of the hours of the day, partly because persons much engaged in business could not spare time for repose so easily as those who were idle. Pliny says of Spurinna, *Ep.* iii. 1, 8 : *Ubi hora balinei nuntiata est—est autem hieme nona, æstate octava—in sole, si caret vento, ambulat nudus*. On the contrary, we have in Mart. iii. 36 :

Lassus ut it thermas decima, vel serius, hora  
Te sequar Agrippæ, cum laver ipse Titi ;

and x. 70, 13, *Balnea post decimam lasso petuntur*. We have therefore only to consider which hour was the most usual. This point has been treated of at length by Salmas. on Spartian. *Had.* 22 ; Lamprid. *Alex. Sev.* 25 ; Vopisc. *Florian.* 6 ; but the result he arrives at on the passage of Lampridius, *Thermæ apud veteres non ante nonam aperiebantur*, cannot possibly be considered correct. It is true that the most usual hour for bathing was the eighth, as is corroborated by many passages, which need not be repeated ; but it is also evident that persons bathed earlier too, and this was not only the case with the private baths, but the *thermæ* also were open. Mart. x. 48. From which we certainly see that persons might bathe in the public baths at the seventh and even at the sixth hour. Moreover, Juven. xi. 205, cannot be otherwise understood : *Jam nunc in balnea salva Fronte licet vadas, quamquam solida hora supersit Ad sextam* ; and just as unequivocal are the words of Vitruvius, v. 10 : *maxime tempus lavandi a meridiano ad vesperum est constitutum*. When therefore Spartian says of Hadrian (c. 22) : *Ante horam octavam in publico neminem nisi ægrum lavari passus est*, this was nothing but a new arrangement, and shows that the matter was differently arranged before. At a later period the time of bathing was extended to night-time also.

Lamprid. *Alex. Sev.* 24 : *Addidit et oleum luminibus thermarum, quum antea non ante auroram paterent, et ante solis occasum clauderentur.* A remarkable passage, if the reading *non ante auroram* were to be relied on ; but it appears strange that before the time of Alexander the *thermæ* in Rome were shut after sunset, whilst the lamps discovered in Pompeii, and the traces of smoke in the hollows made for them, establish the fact, that people bathed by lamp-light. Tacitus again restricted the time to the length of the day. Vopisc. *Tac.* 10 : *Thermas omnes ante lucernam claudi jussit, ne quid per noctem seditionis oriretur.* But probably this did not continue long in force, and later we find a certain sum allotted to defray the cost of lighting. *Cod. Justin.* viii. 12, 19 : *Quia plurimæ domus cum officinis suis in porticibus Zeuxippi esse memorantur, redditus memoratorum locorum pro quantitate quæ placuit ad præbenda luminaria et ædificia ac tecta reparanda regiæ hujus urbis lavacro sine aliqua jubemus excusatione conferri.* In the relief first communicated by Mercurialis, the bathing is evidently represented as going on at night-time, for above the *labrum*, a *lucerna trimyxos* burns on the wall.

The baths became by degrees places of the most foolish debauchery ; and although what is related by Suetonius of Caligula, c. 37, *Commentus novum balnearum usum, portentosissima genera ciborum atque cœnarum, ut calidis frigidisque unguentis lavaretur*, etc., and by Lampridius of Elagabalus, c. 19, *Hic non nisi unguento nobili aut croco piscinis infectis natavit*, may be reckoned among the particular follies of these foolish persons, still this much is certain, that even without these, there was a most inordinate display of luxury at these places. Especially was this the case with the ladies, as, for instance, the women of Nero used to bath in asses' milk. See Boettig. *Sab.* i. 48.

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## EXCURSUS. SCENE VIII.

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### THE MALE ATTIRE.

AS the costume of the Roman ladies remained till a late period essentially the same, so the men wore one distinguishing dress, which first began to grow obsolete after the downfall of the Republic, when the indifference respecting the cultivation of national habits, equalled that about the public affairs of the country. It is true that other articles of dress were worn as well as the simple robe of early days, and even this was folded with greater nicety and amplitude than before; but we must look on those habits as genuine Roman which were in vogue at the most blooming period of the Republic.

Among the writings on this subject, the laborious compilation of Ferrarius (*De re vestiaria*, ii. vii.) will always stand chief. Differing from him, are Rubeni, *De re vest. præcipue de lato clavo*, and on the other side, Ferrarii, *Analecta de re vest.*; Dandré Bardon, *du costume, etc. des anciens peuples*; Martini, *Das Kostüm der meisten Völker des Alterth.*; Malliot and Martin, *Recherches sur le costume, etc. des anc. peuples*, t. i.—iii.; Seckendorf, *Die Grundform der Toga*; Thom. Baxter, *Description of the Egyptian, Greek, and Roman Costumes*; Bartholini, *de pænula*. Compare also Ottfr. Müller, *Etrusker*. i. 260. The chief sources of information are Quinctil. *Inst.* xi. 3; the grammarians, especially Nonius, *De genere vestim.*; Gellius, vii. 12; Tertull. *De pallio*, v.; and the numerous statues in Roman costume.

In speaking of the dress of every-day life, we shall exclude the costume belonging to particular offices, or to public positions generally, as well as the un-roman habiliments which came into use after the second century; nor shall we describe the *tunica palmata* and *toga picta* of the Triumphatores, or the *paludamentum* of the general, or the *caracalla*, the *bracca*, &c. The regular dress of the Romans, both male and female, consisted of only two or three articles, the *tunica interior* and *exterior*,

and the *toga*, to which were added certain others, as the *pænula*, and later the *fasciæ*, for travelling, or defence against the inclemency of the weather.

### THE TOGA.

Whether the word *toga*, *τήβεννος*, be rightly derived by Varro, v. 23, and Nonius i. 2, from *tegere corpus*, is immaterial, though this derivation is a pretty obvious one. It must be mentioned first, as it is said by Gellius (vii. 12) to have been the oldest, and indeed at one time the only garment. And if we reflect on the probable origin of dress among the Romans, we shall be inclined to coincide with this account, although the *tunica* is also mentioned at a very ancient date. Whether its origin is to be sought for in Lydia, or whether the custom passed from Etruria to Lydia, and thence to Rome, (See Müller, *Etr.* i. 262), is a disputed point, and not capable of proof; but there is no doubt that it was used by the Etruscans earlier than by the Romans, and it is among the former nation that we find it worn on the bare body on statues. Besides which, the *toga prætexta* is distinctly mentioned as derived from the Etrurians. Liv. i. 8. Plin. viii. 48, 74 : *Prætextæ apud Etruscos originem invenere*.

It was then the distinguishing garment of the Roman, and originally only worn in Rome itself; hence exiles were not permitted to wear it. Pliny relates of Valerius Licinianus, who lived in banishment in Sicily, as a teacher of rhetoric (*Epist.* iv. 11): *Idem, cum Græco pallio amictus intrasset, (carent enim togæ jure, quibus aqua et igni interdictum est) postquam se composuit circumspexitque habitum suum : Latine, inquit, declamaturus sum*. Strangers did not presume to wear the *toga*, as we learn from the laughable decision of Claudius. Suet. *Claud.* 15 : *Peregrinitatis reum, orta inter advocatos levi contentione, togatumne an palliatum dicere causam oporteret,—mutare habitum sæpius, et prout accusaretur defendereturve, jussit*. Hence the Romans were denominated simply *togati*, or, as in Virg. *Æn.* i. 282, *gens togata*. In later times it fell into disuse, and continued to be worn only by the higher orders, at judicial proceedings, or by clients receiving the *sportula*, at the *salutatio*, and at the *anteambulatio*, and, lastly, at the theatre and public games, in defer-

ence to the presence of the emperors. Hence what Lamprid. (16) relates of Commodus is an exception: *contra consuetudinem pænulatos jussit spectatores, non togatos ad munus convenire*. At a later period those invited to the imperial table, at least, were compelled to appear in it. Spart. Sever. i. *Quum rogatus ad cœnam imperatoriam palliatus venisset, qui togatus venire debuerat, togam præsidariam ipsius imperatoris accepit*. But it may be doubted whether such a custom prevailed in the time of Augustus, and the author therefore may probably escape censure for allowing Gallus, in the first scene, to wear the *synthesis*.

There are three points to which we must direct our attention; the form of the *toga*, the manner of wearing it, and the material of which it was composed. There has been much discussion concerning the form, though it is placed beyond all doubt by the clearest testimonies. Dion. Hal., iii. 61, says: περιβόλαιον ἡμικύκλιον. τὰ δὲ τοιαῦτα τῶν ἀμφιεσμάτων Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν τόγας, Ἕλληνες δὲ τήβεννον καλοῦσιν; Quinct. Inst. xi. 3: *Ipsam togam rotundam esse et apte cœsam velim*; Isid. Orig. xix. 24: *Toga dicta, quod velamento sui corpus tegat atque operiat. Est autem pallium purum forma rotunda effusioe et quasi inundante sinu, et sub dextro veniens supra humerum sinistrum ponitur*; and Athenæus (v. 213), in mentioning the cruelty with which Mithridates treated the Romans, says: τῶν δ' ἄλλων Ῥωμαίων οἱ μὲν θεῶν ἀγάλμασι προσπεπτώκασιν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ μεταμφιεσάμενοι τετράγωνα ἱμάτια τὰς ἐξ ἀρχῆς πατρίδας πάλιν ὀνομάζουσιν. They denied the community with Romans by assuming an un-roman square garment; and the same is the meaning of *pallium teres*, in contradistinction to the proper square *pallium*. Many have, however, supposed that it was square; and Von Seckendorf has endeavoured to prove that the adjustment of the robe, visible in statues, can be effected by means of a square *toga*. But this seems to require a most distinct contradiction, and will be best confuted by the following explanation of the mode of adjusting the *toga*, by which tying was out of the question. It is supposed that this ἡμικύκλιον was the segment of a large circle, (Müll. Etr. 263, and Spalding on Quinct. 443); but it appears doubtful whether in that case the width, which the dress evidently possessed, could be attained. Horace (Epod. iv. 8.) designates a *toga* of six ells, as a very wide one; and if we take the semi-

circular segment, with a chord of six ells, the greatest breadth would be three ells, with which the breadth of fold that we find under Augustus never could have been attained; and Quinctilian, in that case, would not have needed to direct that it should be *apte cæsa*. It was, on the contrary, round, but possessing a greater width than would have been possible with a segment of a circle; and in this manner only can we explain the adjustment of the *toga* in statues; e. g. in the *Mus. Borb.* vii. 43, and in the *Augusteum*, iii. 119 and 124.

Concerning the manner of adjusting it, the chief passage is in Quinctil. xi. 3, 137: *Est aliquid in amictu; quod ipsum aliquatenus temporum conditione mutatum est. Nam veteribus nulli sinus; perquam breves post illos fuerunt. Itaque etiam gestu necesse est usos esse in principiis eos alio, quorum brachium, sicut Græcorum, veste continebatur. Sed nos de præsentibus loquimur. Ipsam togam rotundam esse et apte cæsam velim. Aliter enim multis modis fiet enormis. Pars ejus prior mediis cruribus optime terminatur, posterior eadem portione altius, qua cinctura. Sinus decentissimus, si aliquanto supra imam togam fuerit, nunquam certe sit inferior. Ille qui sub humero dextro ad sinistrum oblique ducitur, velut balteus, nec strangulet, nec fluat. Pars togæ, quæ postea imponitur, sit inferior; nam ita et sedet melius et continetur. Subducenda etiam pars aliqua tunicæ, ne ad lacertum in actu redeat: tum sinus injiciendus humero, cujus extremam oram rejecisse non dedecet. Operiri autem humerum cum toto jugulo non oportet; alioqui amictus fiet angustus et dignitatem, quæ est in latitudine pectoris, perdet. Sinistram brachium eo usque allevandum est, ut quasi normalem illum angulum faciat. Super quod ora ex toga duplex æqualiter sedeat.* Spalding's commentary has done away with most of the difficulties of the text, but still it is not clear how the whole was adjusted, and how the *balteus* and the *sinus* arose, and yet these are the two points which require most explanation. The description of the tedious minuteness in the adjustment of the *toga*, as compared with that of the *pallium*, is perhaps not less instructive. Tertull. *de Pallio*, 5: *Prius etiam ad simplicem captatellam ejus nullo tædio constat (pallium); adeo nec artificem necesse est, qui pridie rugas ab exordio formet et inde deducat in tiliæ totumque contracti umbonis figmentum custodibus forcipibus*

*assignet, dehinc diluculo tunica prius cingulo correpta, quam præstabat moderatiorem texuisse, recognito rursus umbone, et, si quid exorbitavit, reformato partem quidem de lævo promittat, ambitum vero ejus, ex quo sinus nascitur jam deficientibus tabulis retrahat a scapulis et exclusa dextera in lævam adhuc congerat cum alio pari tabulato in terga devoto, atque ita hominem sarcina vestiat.*



*Figure showing the simple method of arranging the Toga.*

We must especially distinguish between two different ways of adjusting the *toga* ; the older and more simple, and the later,

when it was broader, and the folds more ample. We see an instance of the first in the above engraving, copied from a statue in the Dresden collection, *Augusteum*, 117. The robing of four other statues in the same collection is precisely the same, and in a sixth, the *toga* is far more voluminously folded, but the way of putting it on the same. In this figure, the adjustment is very simple; the one end is thrown over the left shoulder to the front, so that the round side falls outwards; the robe is then conducted behind the body, and over the right shoulder, so that the arm rests in it, as in a sling, whilst the whole remaining portion being drawn across the front of the person, is thrown over the left shoulder. The second end hangs down the back, and the left arm is concealed by the robe falling over it. We here see plainly what Quintilian means by *brachium veste continetur*; for the hand only is free, and if we take the folds, in which the arm reposes, for a *sinus*, it is at all events a *perquam brevis* one.

A description of the second mode of adjustment is far more difficult. It is, however, here represented after a statue of Lucius Mammius Maximus, found in Herculaneum, and copied in the *Mus. Borb.* vi. 41, and with which the similarly draped statues in the *August.* 119 and 124, and *Mus. Borb.* vii. 43 and 49, may be compared. The parts named by Quintilian are clearly visible, and it is easy to point out the *velut balteus*, the *sinus*, and the *ora duplex*, although it is very difficult to unravel the robe in one's mind, or to produce a similar adjustment. After manifold experiments with square and round cloths, the author became convinced that it requires a half-round and very long robe, but broader or wider in proportion to its length, than the segment of a circle would be. This garment was also first thrown across the left shoulder, but the portion with the point depending in front, was brought down much lower, (in our statue as low as the feet; in those in the *August.* 124, and in the *Mus. Borb.* vii. 49, it even falls on the ground), and this of itself covered the left arm entirely. The *toga* was then drawn behind the back, and so on to the front of the body, and was then doubled together in a fold at about the middle of its breadth, so that the upper part fell down as a *sinus*, and the lower part covered the body and the legs; thus arose the

bundle of folds crossing obliquely from under the right arm, athwart the breast<sup>1</sup>, and which is generally understood by the



*Figure shewing the second and more elaborate mode of adjustment of the Toga.*

term *umbo*; the remaining part was then thrown over the left shoulder and arm, which was thus doubly covered. On the

<sup>1</sup> Probably the following remarks by M. Le Cte. de Clarac, in connexion with the magnificent statue

of Tiberius in the Louvre, may serve to illustrate this difficult subject: "D'après des recherches sur les

extremities we find tassels, or buttons, which served either for ornament, or to keep down the garment by their weight; lastly, one part of the robe depending in front was drawn forward, or some of the width of the *sinus* was drawn over to the left, and this, in connexion with the bunch of folds, was probably called *umbo*. In several statues the *toga* reaches almost to the *media crura*, and the *sinus* nearly as far; but a little more, and it would fall lower than the undermost border of the robe.

It is hoped that this explanation may prove intelligible. The principal point to be understood is, that the garment which was drawn behind the back towards the right into the front, when it depended in its width, was caught up in the middle, and thus divided into two halves, one of which formed the *sinus*, whilst the other fell down over the body and legs. This will be made more clear by comparing such statues as the *Concordia*, (in Visconti, *Mon. Gab.* 34), where the *palla* is caught in the same manner, and a similar oblique bunch of folds is caused, and the upper half of the garment, as the *sinus* in the case of the *toga*, hung over. We shall find everything in Tertullian in agreement with what we have said.

They who valued this intricate method of adjusting the robe, used, before putting it on, to have it ingeniously folded, and this operation took place every evening. Thin little boards were laid between the folds, to keep them in their places, and the

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statues vêtues de la toge et les essais qu'en ont faits des peintres, des sculpteurs et des acteurs, il paraît positif que, dans sa longueur, sa forme était une ligne droite qui sous tendait une courbe qui n'était pas tout à fait circulaire, mais un peu elliptique. La longueur de la toge était de trois fois la hauteur de l'homme, prise des épaules jusqu'à terre. La largeur, à l'endroit le plus saillant de la courbe, n'avait qu'une hauteur. Pour se vêtir de la toge, on plaçait la partie droite sur l'épaule gauche, de manière qu'il tombât un tiers de la longueur en avant entre les jambes. La ligne droite se tournait vers le

cou. La toge passait ensuite obliquement sur le dos par dessous le bras droit, et le dernier tiers de la longueur, ou un peu moins, se rejetait par dessus l'épaule gauche et retombait en arrière. Celui qui était sur le devant et intérieurement eût gêné par sa longueur; on le relevait par le haut, et en se rabattant il faisait sur la poitrine des plis dont la masse se nommait *umbo*. Ceux qu'ils recouvraient et qui traversaient obliquement sur la poitrine, formaient des *ballei* (baudriers), et on donnait le nom de *sinus* à ceux qui couvraient le milieu des corps, &c." Transl.



*umbo* was kept together by a pair of forceps, which merely prevented the folds getting out of their order, and did not produce the *umbo*; they were only *custodes*. We see from Macrobius (*Sat.* ii. 2), what great care was lavished upon the adjustment of the *toga*.

The colour of the *toga* was white, and hence it is called *pura*, *vestimentum purum*, and only boys carried, till the *tirocinium fori*, those bordered with purple, *toga prætexta*. The *prætexta*, used by magistrates, and the *candida*, or *splendens*, the *toga picta*, and the *tunica palmata*, do not enter into our present discussion. In later times, a *toga purpurea* was a distinction of the emperors, and Cæsar was probably the first who wore it. Cic. *Phil.* ii. 34.

The *toga* was made of wool. In Italy, the best was obtained in Apulia, around Tarentum. Plin. viii. 48; Mart. xiv. 150. Of the foreign sorts, the Milesian and Laconian, as well as several others mentioned in Pliny, were celebrated. The cloth was sometimes thick and heavy, at others thinner and lighter. On account of the first-mentioned quality, the *toga* is called *densa*, *pinguis* (Suet. *Aug.* 82), *hirta* (Quinct. *Inst.* xii. 10). The latter must not be confounded with the *pæxa*, which signifies only the new garment, or one that was more woolly, and not so closely shorn; whence sometimes the *trita*, (see Obbar on Horat. *Epist.* i. 1, 95), sometimes the *rasa* is opposed to it. The lighter sort served for summer wear. Mart. ii. 85. According to Pliny, (viii. 48, 74), it first came into use under Augustus.

Silken stuffs were not worn till late, and even then *serica* signifies generally only half silk cloth, the warp being linen thread, and the woof of silk. When greater accuracy of expression is used, the distinction is made between *subserica* and *holoserica* (Lamprid. *Alex. Sev.* 40); but what he says of Elagabalus, (26), *Primus Romanorum holoserica veste usus fertur, quum jam subserica in usu essent*, can only hold good of the men; for the *holoserica stola mulierum*, is mentioned by Varro in Nonius. As such garments cost enormous sums, they were always considered an article of extravagance. We see from Quinct. xii. 10, that silken stuffs (*subserica*) were used for the *toga* also. On account of their high price, these stuffs were woven so thin, that the famous *coa* (which were, however, also composed of byssus) were often censured by moralists. See

Boettig. *Sab.* ii. 115; and Heindorf, on Hor. *Sat.* i. 2, 101. The garment worn by Venus, in a painting from Pompeii (*Mus. Borb.* iii. 36), and that worn by the Phryne, as she is called (viii. 5), must be considered robes of this sort. In vii. 20, it is not much thicker; and of them we may say with Horace, *pæne videre est ut nudam*.

### THE TUNICA

was worn under the *toga*, and was a sort of shirt, but originally without sleeves, *colobium*. Gell. vii. 12: *Tunicis uti virum prolixis ultra brachia et usque in primores manus ac prope digitos Romæ atque omni in Latio indecorum fuit. Eas tunicas Græco vocabulo nostri χειρῶντοις appellaverunt; feminisque solis vestem longe lateque diffusam decoram existimaverunt, ad ulnas cruraque adversus oculos protegenda*. This seems, however, scarcely applicable to the short sleeves, covering only the upper part of the arm, which we observe in most statues. On the other hand, long sleeves, reaching down as far as the hand, even in the case of women, (as *Mus. Borb.* vii. 3), seldom occur. In the paintings and relievos from Pompeii and Herculaneum, representing comic scenes, the players have throughout *tunicas*, χειρῶντοις, (see Gell, *Pomp.* new ed. vol. ii. pl. 76; *Mus. Borb.* iv. 18, 33), but they are not Roman costume. Cicero, however, inveighs against this effeminacy. *Catil.* ii. 10.

Although, according to Gellius, the *toga* only was worn in former times, and that next the skin, yet they afterwards were not content with one *tunica* only, but the men, like the women, wore a *tunica interior*. With the women it was called *intusium*; with the men, *subucula*, says Boettiger (*Sab.* ii. 113); but this nevertheless appears erroneous. The fragment of Varro (*De vita Pop. Rom.*), is well known: *Postquam binas tunicas habere cæperunt, instituerunt vocare subuculam et intusium*. It is this passage that has given rise to the blunder borrowed by Ferrari from Manutius, and by Boettiger from Ferrari. Varro, on the contrary, wishes to say that the under *tunica* was called *subucula*, the upper, *intusium*, as is clear from his treatise *De Ling. Lat.* v. 30: *Prius de indutui, tum amictui quæ sunt, tangam. Capitium ab eo, quod capit pectus, id est, ut antiqui dicebant, com-*

*prehendit indutui ; alterum quod subtus, a quo subucula ; alterum, quod supra, a quo supparus, nisi id quod item dicunt Osce. Alterius generis item duo ; unum quod foris ac palam, palla ; Alterum quod intus, a quo intusium, id quod Plautus dicit :*

*Intusiatam patagiatam caltulam crocotulam.*

The *clavus latus*, or *angustus*, was a particular distinction for the senatorial, or equestrian order ; hence *tunica laticlavica*, or *angusticlavia*. There is no longer any doubt that the *latus clavus* was a strip of purple in the middle of the tunic in front, running down from the neck to the lower border, while the *angustus* consisted of two such smaller strips. See Ruben. *De re vest.*, and Spalding on *Quintilian*, 441. These strips were woven into the cloth, as we see from Plin. viii. 48 : *Nam tunica lati clavi in modum gausapæ te ti nunc primum incipit.*

The *tunica* was girded under the breast (*cinctura*) ; those however who wore the *latus clavus*, girded only the under one ; but to this rule Cæsar was an exception. Suet. *Cæs.* 45. *Quintilian* directs with respect to the length of the garment : *Cui lati clavi jus non erit, ita cingatur, ut tunicæ prioribus oris infra genua paullum, posterioribus ad medios poplites usque perveniant. Nam infra mulierum est, supra centurionum. Ut purpuræ recte descendant, levis cura est. Notatur interim negligentia. Latum habentium clavum modus est, ut sit paullum cinctis summissior.* There is no doubt that *cinctis* is in the ablative in the last words, but it is not necessary that it should be referred to the *cinctura* of the *angusticlavia*, as it can also mean, that the *laticlavica* must hang down somewhat lower than the *tunicæ interiores*, which were always girded. We might enquire the purpose of this, as the *toga* which was thrown over it quite concealed the under portion of the *tunica* ; but we must not forget that the *toga* was only worn in public, and that on arriving at home it was immediately put off. Men who wore low falling *tunicæ, talaræ*, were always censured. The upper *tunica* had not long sleeves, but the *subucula* had. Trowsers, *braccæ*, were quite unknown to the Romans, until the time of the later emperors. They belonged to the Barbarians, who wore them mostly in the shape of wide pantaloons, which were tied just above the foot ; so we see them on the *Columna Trajana*, and in the figures of the prisoners belonging to it. See the

great work of Piranesi, and the pillar itself. Comp. Cas. ad Suet. *Aug.* 82; Salm. ad Lamprid. *Alex. Sev.* 40, p. 977; Boettiger, *Vaseng.* iii. p. 184. Latterly the emperors wore *coccineas braccas*, instead of which Alexander chose white, but Honorius forbade their being worn in the metropolis.

Instead of these coverings for the legs, the Romans had, however, partially, so early as the republic, *fascias*, with which they protected the thighs and shin-bones, and thence called *feminalia* and *cruralia*, and also *tibialia*. Many persons wore, in addition to these, sashes, *villosa ventralia* (Plin. viii. 48), and wrappers round the neck and ears, *focalia*. See Heind. on Hor. *Sat.* ii. 3, 255. All these were, however, considered marks of effeminacy.

The *toga* was the Roman robe of state, and the *tunica* was the household garment; but in bad weather and out of Rome, on a journey for instance, some other article of dress was necessary as a defence against the dust and rain.

This deficiency was supplied by

#### THE PÆNULA,

a kind of mantle worn by all classes, and even by women. Ulp. *Dig.* xxxiv. 2, 23; Lips. *Elect.* i. 13, 25; Salm. ad Spart. *Hadr.* 3, p. 25; Lamprid. *Comm.* 16, p. 517; Diadum. 2, p. 774; Alex. Sev. 27, p. 926; and Barthol. *De Pænula*.

This garment has been so much discussed, that it will be sufficient to mention here the chief points about its use and supposed nature. It seems to have been a long simple mantle without sleeves, and having probably only a hole for the neck. It was drawn on over the head, and so covered the whole body, from the neck downwards, including the shoulders and arms. If the statues made known by Bartholini, of one of which the following is a copy, can be referred to this kind of dress, it would appear to have been sewn together in front down the breast. This seam, however, sometimes goes lower, and at others stops on the breast, and then the mantle falls down beneath it in two halves, which might be thrown back, and so leave the arms free, as in the figure given above. The *pænula* was made of a thick strong cloth, especially if intended for winter use, and after the intro-

duction of wollen *gausapa*, they were probably used for the purpose. Mart. xiv. 145, comp. vi. 59. Such *gausapa* came into



Figure of a man supposed to be dressed in the *Pænula*.

use only a short time before Pliny, who says (viii. 48): *Gausapa (lanea) patris mei memoria cæpere*. *Gausapa* was originally a linen cloth, rendered rough by a particular process. See Bekker's *Nachträge zum August.* p. 46. The *pænulæ* were also made of leather, *scortææ*. Mart. xiv. 130.

The use of the *pænula* is at least as old as the most ancient Roman literature known to us, for in Plautus it is frequently alluded to as something quite usual. When Pliny (xxxiv. 5), among the *effigies habitu novitias*, reckons those, *quæ nuper prodire pænulis*, it only applies to the artistic representations, for which the *pænula* was but little adapted. It existed along with the *toga*, the place of which it never usurped, although the *lacerna* doubtless did. It was worn next to the *tunica*, and chiefly on journeys; see note 3, page 50, and Cicero, *Ad Attic.* xiii. 33. It was also used in the city in rainy weather. Lamprid. *Alex.*

*Sev. 27*, on which Salm. quotes Seneca, *Quæst. Nat.* iv. 6. The *toga* then was worn underneath it.

A similar mantle, likewise worn over the *toga*, was

### THE LACERNA,

or *lacernæ*, and often confounded by later writers with the *pænula*. It differed from the latter, however, in not being a *vestimentum clausum*, through which the head was inserted, but, like the Greek *pallium*, an open mantle, usually fastened together over the right shoulder by a *fibula*. The *lacerna* is unquestionably of later origin than the *pænula*, and Cicero thus complained of Antony (*Phil.* ii. 30): *Nam quod quærebas, quomodo redissem: primum luce, non tenebris; deinde cum calceis et toga, nullis nec Gallicis nec lacerna;* and then: *cum Gallicis et lacerna cucurristi*. As early as the first emperors it was in common use in winter at the public games, as we learn from Suetonius' description of the honours paid to Claudius by the *ordo equester*. *Claud.* 6. It was not designed solely for protection against the weather, and was therefore worn of more elegant form than the *pænula*. White *lacernæ* only were proper costume for the theatre, when the emperor was expected to be present, as we see from *Mart.* iv. 2, and xiv. 137. The *lacernæ* of the poorer classes were sufficiently unbecoming, as we may naturally suppose. *Juven.* ix. 27; *Mart.* i. 93. The higher ranks, however, displayed considerable luxury in this article, and as the rest of the dress was obliged to be white, took care not to have any lack of colours in the *lacerna*. Women, at least in the first century, frequently wore coloured robes, and it seems doubtful whether this should be applied, with Boettiger (*Sab.* ii. 91, 109), 'only to girls and women of a lighter cast.' In the paintings from *Herculaneum* and *Pompeii*, even of the grandest subjects, we see a far less number of white than of coloured robes, as sky-blue and violet. See Zahn, *Ornam.* t. 19; *Mus. Borb.* iii. t. 5, 6; and in the noble figures (vii. t. 34), the *tunica* and *palla* are azure, covered with golden stars. These are, it is true, not portraits of particular Roman matrons, but still they exhibit the taste of the period; and in *Petronius*, 67, *Fortunata*, the wife of *Trimalchio*, wears a *tunica cerasina*. *Comp. Dig.* xxxiv. 2, 32, and 7: *pallæ*

*purpureæ* are often mentioned in the case of the first matrons. Many matrons may have retained the white garment, and on certain occasions coloured ones would probably not have been becoming, but this cannot be assumed to have been generally the case. These robes were made not only of one distinct colour, as *purpureæ*, *coccineæ*, *amethystinæ*, *ianthinæ*, *prasinæ*, and so on; but there were also, at least in the time of Pliny, coloured prints, so to speak, which appear to have been produced much in the same way as with us; and by means of a corrosive preparation laid on previously, the impressed parts were prevented from assuming the same colour as the rest of the piece. Pliny himself is full of admiration at the process, xxxv. 11, 42. Although this could not, of course, have been regular printing, yet these garments would seem to have been something like calicos. They were in all cases *versicoloria*.

Common dark colours (*fusci colores*, Mart. i. 97, 9, to which belonged the *Bæticæ*, possessing the natural dark colour of the Bætic sheep, Mart. xiv. 133) were also chosen for the *lacernæ*, but beautiful and frequently striking colours were used as well. The twice-dyed purple, *διβαφος*, for instance, was considered very valuable for this garment, although its smell was so far from being agreeable, that Martial (iv. 4), among a number of *fædis odoribus*, mentions, *quod bis murice vellus inquinatum*; also, i. 50, 32, and ix. 63. A *lacerna* of this kind often cost, as Martial (viii. 10) relates, as much as ten thousand *sesterces*. The more brilliant *coccineæ* were also often selected. Mart. i. 97, iv. 27, v. 23, xiv. 131; and even the *amethystinæ*, i. 97. If these were censured as *mulierum vestes*, such was even more the case with the *galbinæ*. See Ruperti on *Juv.* ii. 97. The factions of the circus also exercised an influence over the choice of colours.

As the head always remained uncovered, and they did not generally wear a *petasus*, they used, if on a journey, or when they wished to be unknown (*obvoluto capite*), to fasten a kind of hood, *cucullus* and *cucullio*, on the *lacerna* and the *pænula*. Martial calls these hoods *Liburnicos* or *bardaicos*, iv. 4, 5, and also *bardocucullos*. We see from Martial, xiv. 139,

Jungere nescisti nobis, o stulte, lacernas :  
Indueras albas, exue Callainas,

that they were of a dark colour. We also learn from xiv. 132, that it belonged to the *lacerna* :

Si possem, totas cuperem misisse lacernas ;  
Nunc tantum capiti munera mitto tuo.

It is true he sends not a *cucullus* but a *pileus* ; but had he been able to send *totas lacernas* (i. e. with the *cucullus*), the hat would have been unnecessary.

The names that are mentioned of usual articles of dress, as *læna* and *abolla*, can hardly be determined on with certainty. It seems almost as if they were nearly similar to the *lacerna*. Of the former indeed Martial says (xiv. 136) *Læna*,

Tempore brumali non multum lævia prorsunt ;  
Calfaciunt villi pallia vestra mei ;

from which it would appear to have been a particularly warm garment thrown on over the *lacerna* (*pallia*). Nonius calls it a *vestimentum militare, quod supra omnia vestimenta sumitur* ; and in Cicero, *Brut.* 14, we find it mentioned as a priestly robe, but in Persius, i. 32, it again appears at the dinner-table. It was *hyacinthina* and *coccina*, not less than the *lacerna*, and just so is the *abolla Tyria* or *saturata murice*. Mart. viii. 48. Perhaps at that period they all belonged to the *cænatoria*. See note 7, p. 4.

The *endromis*, which is mentioned in a few passages, (Juven. vi. 246 ; Mart. vi. 19, xiv. 126), was not a garment, but a thick piece of cloth, forming a coverlet, which was thrown round the body after gymnastic exercises, to prevent cold being taken ; in the same manner Trimalchio, in Petron. 28, after the bath, covers himself with a *coccina gausapa*.

As regards the manufacture of these garments, it is generally supposed that they came almost ready from the loom, and therefore were without *sutura*. See Schneid. *Ind. ad Scr. R. R. s. v. tela* ; Beckmann, *Beitr.* iv. 39 ; Boettig. *Furiqem.* 36, and *Sab.* ii. 106. This assumption, however, seems to require some restrictions. With respect to the *toga* it is contradicted by Quintilian, and it seems even less possible in the case of the *pænula* : and if we look at a *tunica*, the upper part of which consists of two *panni*, which must have been fastened together, before the breast and back could be covered, we shall not easily be persuaded



that it could at once have been woven in that form. The mistake perhaps occurs in taking what sometimes occurred for a general rule. The pieces might have been woven on purpose for each separate dress, and first became perfect garments under the hands of the *vestiarii*, *vestifici*, *pænularii*, whose names frequently occur in the lists of slaves.

The Romans knew nothing about washing their clothes at their own houses, and the ladies were far better off than the king's daughter, Nausicaa. The whole dress, when dirty, was handed over to the *fullo*, whose business consisted, besides getting up clothes fresh from the loom, in attending to the scouring of those which had been worn, *lavare*, *interpolare*; hence they formed an important *collegium*. Fabretti, *Inscr.* 278; Schoettgen, *Antiquitates Fulloniæ*; Beckmann, *Beitr.* iv. 35. The remains of a *fullonia* excavated at Pompeii, the walls of which are covered with paintings, relating to the business of the *fullones*, are more instructive than all the passages in which they are mentioned. They are given in the *Mus. Borb.* iv. t. 49, 50, and partly in Gell's *Pompeiana*, ii. 51.

In the lower part of one of these pictures we see in a line, in four niches, such as are to be found for a like purpose in the building, three boys and an adult standing in tubs, for the purpose of purifying, by treading with their feet, *alternis pedibus*, the clothes placed in them. As the ancients were not acquainted with the use of regular soap, they employed in place of the *lixivium* another alkali, with which the greasy dirt contained in the clothes combined, and by this means became dissolved. Of this kind was the *nitrum*, which was often used, and of which Pliny treats, xxxi. 10. But the cheapest means was urine, which was therefore (as is well known) chiefly used. The clothes were put in this mixed with water, and then stamped upon with the feet: this process was performed by older persons, whilst boys lifted the clothes out of their tubs. Above these, in a second compartment, we see the next part of the process. On a pole, hanging on strings, a white *tunica* is stretched, and one of the *fullones* is manipulating it with a card or brush, very like a horse-brush, for the purpose of rubbing it up again, and giving it a nap. To the right, a second is bringing a round frame, with wide bars like a hen-coop, which hangs over him, and through

which his head is stuck, whilst in his left hand he carries a vessel with handles, and there can be no doubt about the purpose for which this apparatus was designed. The white garments after being washed, were vapoured with brimstone, and they were stretched on the frame, whilst exposed to the fumes of the sulphur beneath. Whether the sulphur was so evolved in the vessel which the workman carried, or whether it contained water, with which the clothes were sprinkled before being subjected to the brimstone, we shall not attempt to determine. To the left, sits an oldish well-dressed woman, who seems to be examining a piece of cloth, which a young workwoman has brought to her. The golden hair-net, which she wears, the necklace and the armlets with two green stones, shew that she is one of the more important personages in the *fullonia*. It is remarkable that the young man carrying the frame wears an olive garland, and above him on the frame sits an owl. This must relate to Minerva.

On a second wall we see, in the lower part, a young man in a green *tunica*, giving a dress or piece of cloth to a woman wearing a green under-garment, and over it a yellow one with red serpentine stripes. To her right, sits a second female figure in a white *tunica*, who appears to be cleaning a card, or other similar instrument. Above them several pieces of cloth are suspended on two poles.

Lastly, in the compartment above is a great press with two screws, to give the dresses the finishing touch. In this manner all the dresses were prepared, but the coloured ones had, of course, in many respects to undergo a different treatment, (comp. Pliny, xxxv. 17); and thus they were returned to their possessors with a new gloss. A garment when once washed did not, of course, possess the same value. Hence the *dispensator* of Trimalchio, in Petron. 30, says: *Vestimenta mea accubitoria perdidit, quæ mihi natali meo cliens quidem donaverat, Tyria sine dubio sed jam semel lota*: on which Burmann quotes Lamprid. *Heliog.* 26: *Linteamen lotum nunquam attigit, mendicos dicens qui linteis lotis uterentur*. So also Martial, x. 11, *lota terque quaterque toga*, is considered a poor present.

## THE COVERINGS OF THE FEET.

These were very numerous, but may be classed in two sorts, the *calceus* and the *soleæ*, which certainly both occur in very different forms. It is almost doubtful whether the multifarious names which are used to designate these articles of dress, can with certainty be applied to the forms which occur on statues; for what Rubens and Baldwin (*Calceus Antiq. et Myst.*) have said upon the subject, does not clear up all the points, and Bittner's *Diss. de Calceis* is still less important. It will therefore be sufficient to enumerate the chief varieties.



- a. b. *Soleæ* of the ordinary form.
- c. Half-shoes, after a painting found at Portici.
- d. The common shoe.
- e. A man's shoe, perhaps the *calceus senatorius*.

We have already in note 6, page 4, spoken of the *soleæ* and their uses. They were used in-doors, and in private life; and in later times, out of doors also, when a person was without the *toga*, wearing over the *tunica* the *lacerna* only, in conjunction with which the *soleæ* always occur. To the *toga* belonged the *calceus*, a real shoe, which covered the foot entirely, or in a great measure; it was the only foot-covering in general use in public life, and hence is often mentioned as belonging to the *toga*. Thus Cicero, *Cum toga et calceis*; Suet. *Aug.* 73, *Et forensia autem et calceos nunquam non intra cubiculum habuit ad subitos repentinosque casus parata*. Pliny (*Epist.* vii. 3), charging Præsens with his long absence from Rome, says: *Quousque calcei nusquam, toga feriatæ?* Tertull. (*De pallio*, 5):

✓ *Calceos nihil dicimus, proprium togæ tormentum.* The form of this shoe used by the lower classes, is not known. In a beautiful, but mutilated picture from Pompeii (*Mus. Borb.* vii. 20), a female slave is divesting a sitting man of his shoes, which have quite the form of the high shoes usual among us, and tied in front with a string; see the engraving, p. 351. But that this was no common shoe, as might be supposed from its shape, is evident from the person wearing it, and from the circumstance that most of the charming female dancers (*Mus. Borb.* 33—40) have the same covering for the feet. These shoes are sometimes white, sometimes green, but mostly yellow (*cerinæ*), tied with red strings or narrow thongs, and must therefore be rather taken as women's shoes. On the other hand, we know that the shoes of the senators differed in more than one respect from those of others; and Cicero alludes to this, *Phil.* xiii. 13. The chief difference was, that the senator's shoe was fastened with four thongs (*corrigiæ*), which reached up to the calf, and were then turned round the leg. See Heind. on Hor. *Sat.* i. 6, 27. The second distinction was the *lunula*, a half-moon, which was attached to some part of it. Plutarch (*Quæst. R.* 76) gives the derivation from the original number of the senators, C. Comp. Mart. i. 50, 31; Juven. vii. 192. In Philostr. (*Vit. Herod. Att.* ii. 8), this *lunula* is called ἐπισφύριον ἐλεφάντινον μηνοειδές, and then he says, σὺ τὴν εὐγένειαν ἐν τοῖς ἀστραγάλοις ἔχεις. On the other hand, Martial says, ii. 29 :

Non hesterna sedet lunata lingua planta.

We are not aware whether this mark occurs in any statue, and yet we might take such foot-coverings as occur in the statue in *Mus. Borb.* vii. 49, for the *calceus senatorius* (see the engraving in p. 351). According to Cicero, we must believe that only senators wore it; and according to Cato in *Festus*, those *qui magistratum curulem cepissent*. On the contrary, Plutarch and Philostratus speak only of the εὐγένεια; and the person designated by Martial was anything but a senator. Comp. Isid. *Orig.* xix. 34, 4.

From the words of Horace, *ut nigris medium impediit crus pellibus*, and of Juvenal, *nigræ lunam subtexit alutæ*, it has been inferred that the shoe was black; but Martial expressly adds, *Coccina non læsum cingit aluta pedem*; and if this very

shoe be rightly supposed to have been the *mulleus*, which had passed among so many other things from the Etrurians to the Romans, there is no doubt that it was red, and that the above passage can only be understood of the four *corrigiæ*. See Salm. *ad Vopisc. Aurel.* 49, 588; Müller, *Etrusk.* i. 269. The *mulleus* was red, whatever the etymology of the word may be. See Isid. *Orig.* xix. 34, 10. Otherwise, the men wore only black and white shoes, and the latter only in later times, when variously-coloured ones were also used. They were borrowed from the women's apparel, and hence Aurelian forbade men from wearing them. *Vopisc.* 49.

The poorer classes were generally clothed in the same manner, only that there was naturally a difference in the colour and texture of the materials used, and the elegance of the garments of the higher ranks was altogether wanting. So Juvenal describes the *pauperes* :

si fœda et scissa lacerna,  
Si toga sordidula est et rupta calceus alter  
Pelle patet; vel si consuto vulnere crassum  
Atque recens linum ostendit non una cicatrix.

Many men in good circumstances also did not go better clad, either from negligence, as the Schol. Cruq. on *Hor. Sat.* i. 3, 31, relates of Virgil, or from avarice, as Scævola, who had suddenly become wealthy. *Mart.* i. 104.

The slaves wore only a *tunica* and a *pænula*, the latter usually of a brown colour.

We have already spoken of the manner of cutting the hair and beard, and will now say a few words about the rings. The Romans wore one signet-ring, at least, and to judge by the statues, generally on the fourth finger of the left hand, or the gold-finger, as it is called. Ateius Capito in *Macrob. (Sat. vii. 13)* gives another account as regards the more ancient period. It is known that these rings were in the beginning of iron, and that the golden ones were among the distinctions of the higher classes, as we find in *Forcell. Thes.*; and *Rup. on Juv.* xi. 43. Afterwards, however, vain persons, desirous of displaying their wealth, had their hands literally covered with rings, so that *Quintilian (xi. 3)* gives this special direction for the speaker, *Manus non impleatur annulis, præcipue medios articulos non transeuntibus.*

Mart. xi. 59. Some persons had particular cases (*dactyliothecæ*) for their numerous rings, which were stuck there in a row. Comp. xiv. 123. Rings of immoderate size were also worn, as the same poet says, with bitter satire, of Zoilus, who, from a slave, had become an *eques* (xi. 37); and the effeminate Crispinus had lighter rings for the summer than for the winter; one of the absurdities that made Juvenal exclaim:

Difficile est satiram non scribere.

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## EXCURSUS I. SCENE IX.

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### THE MEALS.

THE contrast between the simplicity of earlier times, and the very refined luxury of a later period, appeared most strikingly perhaps at the table. The prodigality of its equipments were ultimately made not only with the view of indulging the palate by the choicest dainties, but also from a desire of obtaining the rarest articles, at whatever price. These were heaped up in dishes, without any regard to their being agreeable to the taste, but simply because they imparted an additional splendour to the banquet, on account of the immense sums they had cost. Besides which, the grand object of the Roman gourmands was not merely to eat daintily, but as much as possible; and they sought to increase their capacity for so doing by the most unnatural means. The golden saying, *Il faut manger pour vivre, et non pas vivre pour manger*, was precisely inverted at Rome. As such importance was attached to everything relating to the table, there is naturally no lack of materials for a description of the habits connected with it; and several writers not only take pleasure in reverting frequently to the subject, but have also left us detailed accounts of grand banquets. Struckii, *Antiquitates Convivales*; Ciacconius and Ursinus, *De Triclinio*; Bulengerus, *De Conviviis*; are the most complete writings thereon; but we shall pay but little regard to them, as they are rather confused masses of collected passages, than lucid expositions, and also abound with errors. In addition to these, are Meierotto, *Ueber Sitten und Lebensart der Röm*; Wüstemann, *Pal. des Scaurus*; but the best compilation is that of Professor Bähr, in Creuzer's *Abriss*, 407. We shall here treat chiefly of the meals at different times of the day, and make the arrangement of the *triclinium*, the discussion of the utensils and wines, the subjects of particular articles.

It is especially necessary to make a clear distinction between the later and the earlier periods, in which, according to the testi-

monies of writers, the principal article of food was a gruel, *puls*, *far*, *ador*. Varro, *de L. L.* v. 22, *De victu antiquissima puls*; Plin. xviii. 8, 19; comp. Val. Max. ii. 5, 5. Juvenal (xiv. 170) also says:

sed magnis fratribus horum  
A scrobe vel sulco redeuntibus altera cœna  
Amplior et grandes fumabant pultribus ollæ.

And it appears also to have been in a later period a common dish at the frugal board. Mart. v. 78, 9, *pultem niveam premens bottellus*, and the principal sustenance of the lower classes, to which Mart. xiii. 8, alludes,

Imbue plebeias Clusinis pultribus ollas.

But it does not follow from this passage that the *puls* was the national food of Etruria (Ott. Müller, *Etrusk.* i. 234), and it was only called *clusina*, because the *far clusinum*, which was the best and whitest grain, was especially used for this purpose. It is very probable, however, that this dish was commonly eaten through the greater part of Italy. In addition to *puls*, green vegetables (*olera*), and legumes (*legumina*), were frequently used, and flesh but sparingly.

But sacrifices themselves, and the public banquets, *cœnæ populares* (Plaut. *Trin.* ii. 4, 69), by degrees led to the introduction of better meals, and the acquaintance with the habits of foreigners no doubt also exercised an influence. This became manifest chiefly after the wars in Asia, 563. In earlier times, no private cooks were kept, there being no occupation for them. Plin. xviii. 11, 28. *Nec coquos vero habebant in servitiis eosque ex macello conducebant*. And such we find to be the case almost universally in Plautus. On the contrary, Livy, in the passage already often mentioned (xxxix. 6), concerning the luxury which was introduced from Asia, says: *epulæ quoque ipse et cura et sumptu majore apperari cœptæ: tum coquus, vilissimum antiquis mancipium et æstimatione et usu in pretio esse et quod ministerium fuerat, ars haberi cœpta*. Until the year 580, no private baker also was kept, nor did any follow the trade of bakers. Plin. supra: *Pistores Romæ non fuisse ad Persicum usque bellum, annis ab Urbe condita super DLXXX. Ipsi panem faciebant Quirites, mulierumque id opus erat, sicut etiam nunc in plurimis gentium*. And a verse in Plautus, *Aul.* ii. 9, 4,



where the *artoptes* is mentioned, might have been considered spurious, had not Ateius Capito informed us: *coquos tum panem lautioribus coqui solitos, pistoresque tantum eos, qui far pisebant, nominatos*. Varro, *De vit. pop. Rom. in Non.* iii. v., *pinsere. Nec pistoris nomen erat, nisi ejus qui ruri far pinsebat*. But in Varro's time, skilful *pistores* fetched immense prices, as we see from the fragment of his satire *περὶ ἐδεσμάτων*, in Gell. xv. 19.

Notwithstanding all this, the art of cookery, and taste for delicacies, seem to have made considerable advances in Rome, as early as the time of Plautus, as we see from *Aul.* ii. 9; *Capt.* iv. 2; *Mil.* iii. 1; *Curc.* ii. 3; *Menæchm.* i. 1; *Pæn.* i. 3. These passages were doubtless written in allusion to Roman habits, and the longing of the parasites would otherwise have been devoid of meaning.

In considering a later period, we must distinguish between the various meals which were taken at different times of the day, and thence the expressions, *jentaculum*, *prandium*, *merenda*, *cæna*, *vesperna*, will require explanation.

*Jentaculum*, also *jantaculum*, was the name of the first meal, eaten early in the morning. Isidor. *Orig.* xx. 2, 10: *Jantaculum est primus cibus, quo jejunium solvitur, unde et nuncupatum*. Nigidius: *Nos ipsi jejunia jantaculis levibus solvimus*. The questions, at what hour this meal took place, what it consisted of, and whether it was generally adopted by persons of all ages, are difficult of answer, since the matter is seldom mentioned, and then in a chance manner. Salmas. *ad Vopisc. Tacit.* 11, 615, assumes the usual time to have been the third or fourth hour, but yet it is scarcely probable that any fixed time was general, it probably having been regulated according to each person's wants, and the hour at which he rose. Hence it was not always taken before going out of the house, but when they felt the want of it, and even in going along, as Saumaise has shewn, and from him we may gather of what it consisted. Generally it was bread, seasoned with salt, or some other condiment, and eaten with dried grapes, olives, cheese, and so forth. Vopiscus says of Tacitus (c. 11): *Panem nisi siccum nunquam comedit eundemque sale atque aliis rebus conditum*, which is rightly referred by Saumaise to the *jentaculum*. So speaks Seneca too of his frugality (*Epist.* 82): *Panis deinde siccus, et sine mensa prandium, post quod*

*non sunt lavandæ manus*; where *panis* is by no means to be understood of *prandium*. Others took milk and eggs besides, and *mulsum*. Lamprid. *Alex. Sev.* 30. This passage seems to shew that the use of the *jentaculum* was not confined to children and weakly persons, and there is no necessity to draw inferences for the Roman custom from Plutarch, Eustathius, and Didymus. The passages commonly quoted, Mart. xiv. 223, *Jentacula*:

Surgite; jam vendit pueris jentacula pistor,  
Cristatæque sonant undique lucis aves;

and Plaut. (*Truc.* ii. 7, 38), *hujus pater pueri illic est; usque ad jentaculum jussit ali*, do not justify any such conclusion; for in Martial, it is evident from the Lemma. *jentaculum*, that a particular kind of pastry which served for the boys' breakfast, is meant. Still less proof lies in the words of Plautus; for *alere ad jentaculum* means, to bring up to that time when the child is no longer fed with *puls*, but can partake with others of the ordinary *jentaculum*. On the other hand, Vitellius (Suet. 7), asks of the soldiers who meet him, *jamne jentassent?* and Martial says to Cæcilianus, who came as early as the fifth hour to the *prandium*, (viii. 67):

Mane veni potius; nam cur te quinta moretur?  
Ut jentes sero, Cæciliaue, venis.

Comp. also Apul. *Met.* i. 60. We may therefore assume that such a breakfast was generally adopted *solvendo jejunio*, though many might have omitted it in the same way as others abstained from the *prandium*.

The *prandium* was not so much a breakfast as the proper mid-day meal, though it, too, was only looked upon as a preliminary repast, while the more bounteous *cæna* appeared in the back-ground. There can be no doubt about the time at which it took place; it was the sixth hour, whence in Martial (iv. 8), *sexta quies lassis*; consequently about mid-day; but this does not necessarily imply that it did not commence till the beginning of the seventh hour; for we read in Suet. *Claud.* 34: *Bestiariis meridianisque adeo delectabatur, ut etiam prima luce ad spectaculum descenderet, et meridiæ, dimisso ad prandium populo, persederet*. So that the expression *meridiæ*, is not to be taken so literally, and mid-day might doubtless arrive during the games. Many persons might, however, begin earlier, as

Saturio (in Plaut. *Pers.* i. 3, 33) answers Toxilus: *Nimis pæne mane est.* Cicero says of Antony (*Phil.* ii. 41): *ab hora tertia bibebatur*; and people generally regulated the meal according to circumstances, as Horace on the journey (*Sat.* i. 5, 25), who would scarcely wait for the sixth hour. The saying of Festus (*Exc.* 122), *Prandium ex Græco προένδιον est dictum; nam meridianum cibum cœnam vocabant*, agrees very well with his account of the *cœna*. He meant to say here, that the name (*prandium*) was, at a later period, used for it (the mid-day meal), and that formerly the *cibus meridianus* was called *cœna*.

The less common term, *merenda*, appears to denote the same thing as *prandium*. Non. p. 28; Fest. *Exc.* xi. 92; Isid. *Orig.* xx. 2, 12. *Merenda est cibus, qui declinante sumitur, quasi post meridiem edenda et proxima cœnæ. Unde et antecœnia a quibusdam vocantur.* What time Isidorus meant is not so easily told, for between *prandium* and *cœna* there is no place for *merenda*. But the *promulsis* belonged to the *cœna* itself. In Calpurn. Sic. *Ecl.* v. 60, we certainly have

Verum ubi declivi jam nona tepescere sole  
Incipiet, seræque videbitur hora merendæ.  
Rursus pasce greges.

But this is of sheep, and *merenda* denotes meal-time generally. But we gather that the word denotes the *prandium*, without the explanations of the grammarians, from a letter of Marc. Aur. in Fronto, iv. 6: *Deinde ad merendam itum. Quid me censes prandisse? Panis tantulum. Ab hora sexta domum redimus*, where *merenda* and *prandium* are used as synonymes, and the time is before mid-day. Further, in Plaut. *Most.* iv. 2, 50, Theuropides says to Phaniscus:

Videsis, ne forte ad merendam quopiam devorteris,  
Atque ibi meliuscule, quam satis fuerit, biberis.

Simo had shortly before come from the *prandium*. As regards the etymology, Isidor. cites a second passage: *Merum hinc et merenda, quod antiquitus id temporis pueris operariis, quibus(?) panis merus dabatur*, etc. How little value is to be attached to such attempts at guessing the derivation of a word, is at once apparent.

We learn from Plautus (*Menæchm.* i. 3, 25) of what the *prandium* consisted. Phædromus (*Curc.* ii. 344) mentions:

*Pernam, abdomen, sumen, suis glandium.* It consisted of warm as well as cold dishes; frequently of the remains of the *cæna* of the previous day, *reliquiæ*. *Curc. supra*; *Pers. i. 3, 25. Caleferi jussi reliquias*; and to which the parasite adds: *Pernam quidem jus est apponi frigidam postridie*. In later times they were not satisfied with these dishes, but *olera*, fish, eggs, &c., were added, and *mulsum*, wine, and especially the seductive *caldæ* were drunk with it. Many frugal people took, however, a very simple *prandium*, as the elder Pliny. *Plin. Epist. iii. 5, 10.* Seneca called this a *prandium sine mensa post quod non sunt lavandæ manus*.

The principal meal was the last in the day, *cæna*; but whether this applies to the most ancient times, may seem doubtful, according to Festus, *Exc. iii. 41. Cæna apud antiquos dicebatur, quod nunc est prandium; vespurna quam nunc cænam appellamus*, xvii. 149, and xix. 157. If the derivation given by Isid. *Orig. xx. 11, 14, cæna vocatur a communione vescentium; κοινὸν quippe Græci commune dicunt*, be correct (and it is more probable than from *θοῖν*), this meal, whether later or earlier, must always be considered a principal one. If the name *scensæ* be correct, it had not a Greek derivation at all.

Apart, however, from this account, which refers to a period reaching far beyond all written memorials, the proper time of the *cæna* was about halfway between mid-day and sun-set, i. e. the ninth hour; but as this, in winter, began at half-past one, the time for business would have been too much broken in upon thereby, and the *cæna* was then deferred till an hour later, by which means it was brought to about the same time; for in summer the ninth hour began at 2 hrs. 31 min., and the tenth, in winter, 2 hrs. 13 min. Pliny (*Epist. iii. 1, 8*) says of Spurius: *Ubi hora balinei nuntiata est,—est autem hieme nona, æstate octava—in sole, si caret vento, ambulat nudus. Lotus accubat.* The ninth is generally named as the hour of the *cæna*. *Cic. Fam. ix. 26*; *Martial*, in his division of the day, *iv. 8, 6*:

*Imperat extinctos frangere nona toros.*

Of course the time is only reckoned approximately, and no doubt, when busy, they dined later. *Mart. vii. 51, 11.* Many, on the contrary, began the meal earlier than the ninth hour, *cænare de die*; when protracted till late in the night, or till morning, it was

said, *cænare in lucem*. Such *convivia* were called, in both cases, *tempestiva*. Even with the more frugal people, the *cæna* was of pretty long duration. Pliny (*Epist.* iii. 5, 13) admiring his uncle's extraordinary *parsimonia temporis*, says: *Surgebat æstate a cæna luce; hieme intra primam noctis*. This left about three hours for the meal, and yet even such instances were rare. As business was quite over, and all the rest of the day belonged to recreation, there was no necessity for curtailing the meal.

The *cæna* consisted of three parts: 1. *Gustus* (*gustatio*), or *promulsis*; 2. *fercula*, different courses; 3. *mensæ secundæ*. The *gustus*, says Petronius (21, 31), contained dishes designed more to excite than to satisfy hunger; all sorts of vegetables to help digestion, as *lactuca*, Mart. xiv. 14. See Heindorf, on Hor. *Sat.* ii. 4, 59. Also, shell and other fish, easy of digestion, with piquant sauces, and so forth. The supposition that the meal began with eggs, whence Acron, on Hor. *Sat.* i. 36, explains the proverb, *ab ovo ad mala*, agrees very well with Cic. *Fam.* ix. 20, who means that his hunger lasts from the beginning to the end. In Petron. 33, the *ova pavonina* also belong to the *gustatio*, and Mart. xii. 19, says:

In thermis sumit lactucas, ova, lacertum.

This was a *gustus*, which many took immediately after bathing.

They also generally took *mulsum* (see the article on the *The Drinks*), as wine was thought too heating for the empty stomach. Hor. *Sat.* ii. 4, 24. The *gustus* was called *promulsis*; but not because the viands were taken before the *mulsum*, but because they, with it, formed the whet. In the same sense Martial says, *προπίνειν*, instead of *gustare*.

The *cæna*, in a stricter sense, consisting of several removes, *fercula*, named *prima*, *allera*, *tertia cæna*, followed. Mart. xi. 31. In earlier times people were satisfied with two removes, (Cato, in Serv. on Virg. *Æn.* i. 637); afterwards there were generally three, the chief dish, *caput cænæ* (Mart. x. 31) being placed in the centre; but they did not stop there; and Juvenal's words (i. 94) are well known: *Quis fercula septem secreto cænavit avus?* There was never a lack of the dessert, *mensæ secundæ*, which consisted of pastry, *bellaria* (Gell. xiii. 11), fresh and dried fruit, and of dishes made only to be looked at, and called by the Grecian name *epideipnides*. Mart. xi. 31; Petron. 69.

By the expression *cæna recta*, is meant a full meal of this sort, *ab ovo usque ad mala*, but it is obscure, and opposed to the *sportula*. Other expressions, as *dubia*, *pura*, belong only to particular cases. The particular dishes are partly described in the ninth scene and the notes upon it: a simple meal is described, in Mart. x. 48, and one still more simple in v. 78, and an account of a grand *cæna pontificalis*, about the middle of the period of the Republic, will be found in Macrobius, ii. 9.

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## EXCURSUS II. SCENE IX.

### THE TRICLINIUM.

THERE do not seem to have been any special eating-rooms, or *triclinia*, in the old Roman house, but large apartments for general use answered the purpose; in the city, the *atrium*, and in the country, the *cors*. Varro, in Serv. on Virgil, *Æn.* i. 637, *in atrio epulabantur antiqui*. Varro (*De Vit. Pop. Rom.*) is not so clear; but at the period, with the manners of which we are more acquainted, the houses had more than one *triclinium*, and also large halls (*æci*) for the same purpose; for an account of which, see the article on *The Roman House*.

The word *triclinium* did not originally signify the room itself, but the couch on which they took their seats at the table. (*Biclinium*, Plaut. *Bacch.* iv. 4, 69, 102, refers to the particular case when two *paria amantum* were together, and for two or three persons, of course only one *lectus* was required). These couches were not known in the earlier ages, in which they used to eat sitting, a custom to which the women adhered after the men had adopted that of lying. Isid. *Orig.* xx. 11, 9. We find this exemplified in many monuments. *August.* 151; *Pitt. d'Ercol.* i. 14; Zahn, *Ornament.* 90.

The word signifies not the single *lectus tricliniaris*, but a conjunction of three such, with three persons on each, so that the *triclinium* comprehended nine persons. On the fourth side, an access to the table was left for the placing of the dishes. Wüstemann understands by it a single *lectus*, and supposes the whole company sat upon three *lecti*; but this is untenable, as Macrobius (*Sat.* ii. 9) can only be understood as referring to different *triclinia*, consisting of several *lecti*; it was in order that more than one table with its couches might stand in the same room, that the regular eating apartments were twice as long as they were broad, and they had *æcos quadratos tam ampla magnitudine, uti faciliter in eis tricliniis quatuor stratis, ministratorum ludorumque operis locus possit esse spatiosus*. It may be difficult to

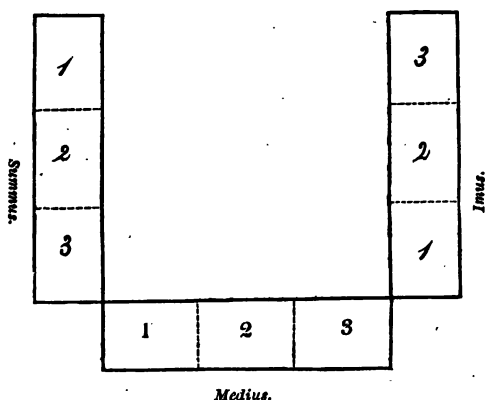
say how the nine men distributed themselves among two *triclinia*, but for fifteen persons, and among them four vestal virgins, to have sat at one *triclinium*, would have been an unheard of circumstance. The number, too, was not complete ; for in the list, Lentulus, in honour of whom the banquet was given, and Metellus, were absent ; so that there would have been at least eleven or twelve persons.

The three *lecti*, forming the *triclinium*, differed much in point of rank, as did also the particular places on each. They were called *summus*, *medius*, and *imus*, but the *medius* only explains itself. The manner of arrangement can be explained in two ways ; first, from Seneca (*Nat. Quæst.* v. 16), where in giving the points of the wind he says, *A septentrionali latere summus est Aquilo, medius septentrio, imus Thracias* ; but in the wind-dial of Varro, which Seneca followed, the *Aquilo* takes the place to the left, and the *Thracias* that to the right of the *septentrio* ; and it is therefore clear that the *lectus summus* stood to the left of the *medius*, and the *imus* to the right of it. Of these couches, the most honourable was the *medius*, then the *summus*, and the *imus* the last in rank.

The *lectus* had a railing along at one end, where lay a cushion ; the rest of the places were separated by pillows. On this railing the person rested with his left arm, so that the *imus* would have had the railing next to the *medius*, whilst that of the *summus* would have been at the extreme end opposite. The most honourable place was that next to the railing, then the centre, and lastly the lowest one ; hence *superius* and *inferius accumbere*. But to this rule the *medius* was an exception ; for on that, the lowest place was first in rank, and also the seat of honour of the whole *triclinium*, and always left for the most important person ; hence called *consularis*. The chief passage on this subject is in Plutarch (*Sympos.* i. *Quæst.* 3), but it seems to contain a contradiction which has escaped the notice of commentators. After quoting the customs of other nations with regard to the rank of the seats, he says, Ῥωμαίοις δὲ ὁ τῆς μέσης κλίνης τελευταῖος, ὃν ὑπατικὸν προσαγορεύουσιν, and adduces three reasons why this should have been the place of honour. Firstly, he thinks that the kings formerly took the middle place on the middle *lectus*, and that, on the transition into a republic, the consuls



ceded this place, with a view of obtaining popularity. According to his second reason, the lowest place on the middle *lectus* was the most honourable (Heindorf erroneously says the *summus*), and next to the *lectus imus*, on which the host took the uppermost seat, in order to be as near as possible to the most distinguished guest. The third ground given was, that the consul or general could in that place best settle any matters of business, if, for instance, intelligence or papers requiring his signature happened to be brought to him. Plutarch's meaning is apparent.



The three *lecti* were so placed, that their inner lines formed three sides of a square, but where the *summus* and *imus* joined the *medius*, an angle occurred outside, which could however be rounded, if the *lecti* were made sloping. If the consul lay on the lowermost seat of the *lectus medius*, the messenger waiting for orders could put himself in this corner. There was, it is true, at the end another such corner, but the person lying there must have looked backwards in order to converse with any one occupying it. The difficulty consists only in Plutarch designating the place ἐν ᾗ τῆς δευτέρας κλίνης τῇ πρώτῃ συναπτούσης, ἢ γωνίᾳ διάλειμμα ποιούσα. By *δευτέρα* is to be understood *medius*, but this abuts at the point where the *locus consularis* is, not on the *summus*, but on the *imus*, where the host lies next to the *consularis*. The words therefore contain an impossibility, and contradict what Plutarch himself had previously said; so that we must

make the necessary alteration of τῆς δευτέρας κλίνης τῇ τρίτῃ συναπτοῦσης.

Were a proof still wanting that the *lectus imus* was at the right of the *medius*, it would be deducible from the position of the places of the host and consul, which adjoined each other; the former being *summus in imo*, the latter *imus in medio*. This arrangement is made clear by the fragment of Sallust, *Hist.* i. 3. In Serv. ad Virg. (*Æn.* 698), where mention is made of the banquet at which Sertorius was killed by the treachery of Perperna, only two persons lay on the *lectus medius* and the *summus*; as, when the number of the company was not complete, the smaller number was always allotted to those couches, they being the appropriate seats for guests. Sertorius naturally took the most distinguished seat; he lay *inferior in medio*, not *imus*, because there was only one other person on the same *lectus*. Next to him on the right lay Perperna, as host, on the *imus*. The outermost place on the *summus* was occupied by Antonius. It is quite as easy to assign each guest his place at the *cæna Nasidieni*. Hor. *Sat.* ii. 8. The only deviation was, that the host had resigned his place to Nomentanus, who in some degree did the honours for him; and, for the same reason, he himself lay *medius in imo*. At other times, the mistress of the house and the children occupied the *imus*, or places were left on it for uninvited visitors (*umbræ*), introduced by invited guests.

When the use of round-tables became common, the proper *triclinia* no longer answered, and were changed for semicircular sophas, called *sigma* from their form. The round-tables (the costly *orbes citrei*) were of no very great size, and hence the *sigmata*, or *stibadia*, were arranged for less than nine persons. Such was the *hexaclinon* in Mart. ii. 60, 9, and the *heptaclinon* (x. 48), also one for eight persons, xiv. 87. On such a *sigma*, the order of places ran straight on, beginning where, in the *triclinium*, the *locus summus*, or *summo* was.

The *lecti tricliniaries* were low; all the tables that have been discovered are considerably lower than ours. This may be accounted for by the fact that a tall tray was frequently placed upon them. See Bechi, *Mus. Borb.* iii. xxx. They were probably of the same kind as the *cubiculares*; i. e. they had girths and mattresses, over which the gorgeous coverlet, generally pur-

ple, was spread; but in them was more opportunity of display, and hence not only *æрати*, but *argentei*, *testudinei*, are also mentioned. We must draw a distinction between the coverlets (*stragula*) and the *toralia*; and we do not understand how Heindorf on Horace (*Sat.* ii. 4, 84, referring at the same time to *Epist.* i. 5, 21), could say, 'In both cases *toral*, *toralia*, is evidently a case or covering of the purple stuff cushions (*tori*).' Petronius (40) is sufficient to controvert this. The chief dish, the boar, was going to be served up, and Trimalchio caused the *triclinium* suddenly to receive an exterior covering, referring to the chase, and the hounds were at the same time admitted into the apartment.' We need only reflect that the whole of the guests lay upon the *lecti*, when the slaves *toralia proponunt*, to be convinced that the word cannot mean covers spread over the couches. On the contrary, it signifies hangings, with which the *lectus* was draped from the *torus* to the floor; hence Horace says, *circum Tyrias vestes* (purpureum torum) *dare illota toralia*. See Casaubon, on Lamprid. *Heliog.* 19; *Dig.* xxxiii. 10, 5.

In the middle of the *triclinium*, or *sigma*, stood the table on which the meats were served; but it is interesting to learn from Martial, that even then the custom of slaves handing the dishes round had been introduced. vii. 48.

The usual expressions to denote taking the place at the table, are, when alluding to the whole company, *discumbere*; when of one in particular, *decumbere*, or more generally, *accumbere*; where *mensæ*, or something else must be supplied: *accubare* ought properly to apply to a person already reclining, but it is also interchanged with *accumbere*, as Plin. *Ep.* i. 3, 8: *Lotus accubat*. *Recubare*, *cubare*, *jacere* are, if used, to be taken as more general expressions, having no particular reference to the table.

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*x. argentei. Toral*

### EXCURSUS III. SCENE IX.

#### THE TABLE UTENSILS.

AS the *triclinium*, with the company reclining, presented a very different appearance from our tables, surrounded by chairs, so the equipment of the table very little resembled ours. Table-cloths do not appear to have been introduced till very late, the best proof of which is, that the language had no word to express them. *Mantele, mantelibus sternere, mantelia mittere*, which were used for this purpose, had originally a totally different signification. Lamprid. *Heliog.* 27; *Ib. Alex. Sev.* 37; *Isid. Orig.* xix. 26, 6. Originally *mantele*, or *mantelium*, was equivalent to χειρόμακτρον. Varro, *L. L.* vi. 8, *Mantelium ubi manus tergentur*. At the period, then, treated of by the *Scriptores historiæ Augustæ*, the habit prevailed; and as early as the time of Hadrian, too, if what Lamprid. says be correct: *Quum hæc Heliogabalus jam recepisset, et ante, ut quidam prædicant, Adrianus habuisset*. Even Mart. (xiv. 138) may be referred to this, although it must not necessarily be understood of the *cæna*; the same applies to xii. 29. But this custom did not prevail at the time of Augustus, as we learn from Hor. *Sat.* ii. 8, 10. Had the table been covered, it would neither have been perceived that it was of maple, nor could it have been rubbed with *gausape*, which operation appears to have been generally performed between the divisions of the meal. See Petron. (34), and to this Plautus (*Menæchm.* i. 1) also alludes. At that period then the *mantele* at table was merely a napkin, the same as *mappa*, a linen cloth usually fastened over the breast. At least this may be inferred from Petron. (32), and Pliny, vii. 2.

We are not acquainted with any passage that states whether these *mappæ* were handed to each guest by the master of the house, except perhaps the rather indistinct one of Hor. *Sat.* ii. 8. 81. But by comparing it with the verses following, it almost seems as if *mappa* had some further signification; and that as

*scopeæ* and *lutulenta palma* mean the same thing, so also do *mappæ* and *toralia*. On the other hand, it is clear beyond doubt that each guest brought his own *mappa* with him. Martial's epigram in ridicule of Hermogenes, who on every opportunity stole the *mappa*, is well known (xii. 29). Just so of Cæcilianus, who stowed away all the meats (ii. 37, 7), and in a similar case (vii. 19, 13), *Mappa jam mille rumpitur furtis*. But it could only be his own *mappa*, in which he packed up all this store. They who were entitled to the *latus clavus* would, if vain men, have their *mappæ* and *mantelia* ornamented in like manner. We discover this, apart from the *Scriptores historiæ Augustæ*, which treat of the imperial tables, from Petronius and Martial, iv. 46, 17: *Lato variata mappa clavo*.

They appear to have made use of very few instruments to convey the food to the mouth; and, however strange it may seem, we cannot refute what Baruffaldus, *De Armis Convivalibus*, says, that the bare finger was in a great measure used. See Ovid, *Art. Am.* iii. 736; Mart. v. 78, 6, and iii. 17.

The only implements mentioned (for the knife belongs to the *structor* only, and forks are never spoken of), are *cochlear* and *ligula*. The first evidently takes its name from *cochlea*, but it is ridiculous to refer this to its shape, thus confounding *cochlea* and *concha*. Martial (xiv. 121) says that a double use was made of it:

Sum cochleis habilis, nec sum minus utilis ovis:

Numquid scis, potius cur cochleare vocer?

but the very part used to eat the *cochlea*, has least resemblance to it. It was probably a spoon with a point at one end, for the purpose of extracting the interior of the muscle. Hence Pliny (xxviii. 2, 4) says, *Perforare ovorum calyces cochlearibus*, from superstition, to perforate the already emptied shells; and therefore Martial (viii. 71) names an *acu levius cochlear*. This point was also used for the purpose of opening eggs, and probably the spoon at the other end for emptying them. Petron. 33.

The meaning of *ligula* is not so clear. Baruffaldus erroneously considers it to mean the same as *cochlear*. That such was not the case, is sufficiently demonstrated by Martial (viii. 71), where he relates how the gifts of Postumianus became year by year more insignificant, and (viii. 33) when he had received a

very light *phiala*. We see by all these passages, that the *ligula* was larger than the *cochlear* (although it, too, is called *gracilis*, Mart. v. 18, 2); but that something similar is to be understood, we learn partly from the etymology, in conformity with which the grammarians demanded (Mart. xiv. 120) that it should be written *lingula*, and partly from the glossaries, which translate it by *μύστρον*, a spoon.

The food was not served in single dishes, but each course was brought in by the slaves, standing on a frame, and thus placed on the table. These table-trays were called *repositoria*; in the *cæna Trimalchionis*, this was the case not only with the *gustus*, but with the different *fercula* and the *mensæ secundæ*. Petron. 33, 40, &c. The apparatus used for serving up the *promulsis*, was called *promulsidare* and *gustatorium*. Petron. 31. It is not easy to conceive how *promulsidare* can have been taken for *promulsis* itself. From Ulpian (*Dig.* xxxiv. 2, 20) we find that the *promulsidaria* were distinguished from the *repositoria*, and the expression *scutellæ* adds another particular kind. But how the reading in Pliny, xxxii. 11, 49, *jam vero et mensas repositoriis imponimus*, can be defended, is not clear, as several stories set one upon another would, in that case, be meant. These trays were at first simply of wood, but at a later period were more in conformity with the splendour in other things, and quite covered the table, or even reached over the sides of it, as must naturally have been the case when a boar was served up entire. Plin. i. 1, 52.

The utensils on which the food was served appear to have been as numerous as with us. *Patinæ*, *catini*, *lances*, *scutulæ*, *gabatæ*, *paropsides*, are named, all probably varying in form; some flat, others hollow, round, and oval, with and without covers. Nonius mentions sixteen, and the *catinus* only without explanation. As regards material, we know that these utensils were made of the simplest pottery, (*Rubra paropsis*. Mart. xi. 27, 5, xiv. 114. Hor. *Sat.* i. 6, 118, although sometimes from their size and elaborate make, of a very high price. Rupert. on Juv. iv. 131), up to massive silver, with costly engravings, and inlaid with reliefs, *chrysendeta*, (see note 13, p. 23), and we may assume, that under the emperors such silver utensils were never wanting in the houses of the affluent.

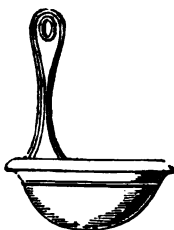
It would be vain to attempt an accurate explanation of all the different drinking-vessels mentioned in Nonius, Isidorus, Pollux, and elsewhere, and still less a commentary on Athenæus. Besides, to some of them, as the *pocula*, *scyphus* (hardly, as Boettiger supposes, a vessel with two handles), there is no fixed shape; but many names do refer to a certain form, and will therefore admit of explanation.

The customary larger-sized measure, according to which they usually reckoned, was the *amphora*, which is identical with the *quadrantal*. Fest. Exc. 133. The smaller measures into which the *amphora* was divided, were the *congius*, and *sextarius*. Festus, s. v. *publica pondera*, 213, quotes from the *Plebiscitum Scilianum*, according to which eight *congi* were equal to an *amphora*, and six *sextarii* to a *congius*. In addition to these we have the *urna*, which contained four *congi*, and the *cyathus*, or twelfth part of the *sextarius*. The *cadus* was not only a Roman, but a Grecian measure, the *amphora Attica*. Rhemn. Fann. *De pond. et mens.* 84. It held three *urnæ*, or twelve *congi*. By means of the Roman standard measuring vessels, that are still extant, we are able to determine with certainty the relation of their measures to those in use at the present day. The Farnese *congius*, preserved in the Dresden Gallery, is of particular importance. It is of bronze, gauged in 828 A.U.C., and bears the inscription, *Imp. Cæsare Vesp. VI. T. Cæs. Aug. F. III. Cos. mensuræ exactæ in capitolio P. X.* This vessel was measured by Beigel with great exactness, and the result, with a history of it by Hase, were communicated in the *Palæologus* or *Kleine Aufsätze*. Leips. 1837.

In the same collection is a *sextarius*, concerning which the treatise also gives information.

By the division of the *sextarius* into twelve *cyathi*, eleven different measures arose, having the same names as the parts of the *as*, only that the single part, instead of *uncia*, was called *cyathus*. They are, I. *cyathus*; II. *sextans*; III. *quadrans*; IV. *triens*; V. *quincunx*; VI. *semis*; VII. *septunx*; VIII. *bes*; IX. *dodrans*; X. *dextans*; XI. *deunx*; XII. *sextarius*. Of these, however, only the *cyathus* and *triens* can be considered real vessels. The *trientes*, which are often named, were regular drinking-vessels, goblets. Mart. (x. 49) says, *potare ame-*

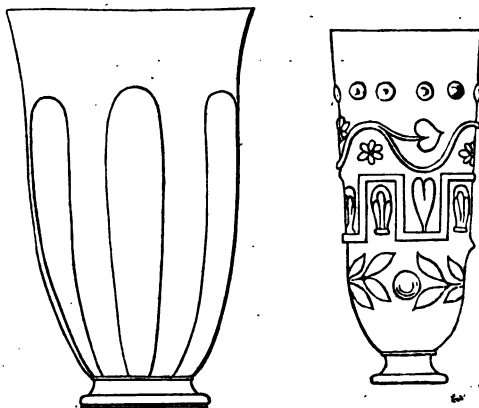
*thyrtinos trientes*, but mention is nowhere made of *quincunces aurei*, or *amethystini*, although we have *quincuncem bibere*. The *trientes* were classed, it seems, among the goblets of middling size; for they held four *cyathi*. But the *cyathus* was not a goblet, but only a measure or ladle, to allot to each person the fixed number. See Heind. on Hor. *Sat.* i. 6, 117. They had regular *pueros a cyatho* (Mitsch. on Hor. *Od.* i. 29, 8), and hence we do not find *cyatho bibere*, although we have *sex, septem cyathis bibere*. In the *Mus. Borb.* (iv. t. 12) are four small ladle glasses, with longer or shorter handles, which are declared to be *simpula*, or *simpuvia*. They would at once appear to be *cyathi*, were they not of different sizes, and were any account given of their measure; nevertheless we may refer them to the *cyathus*, as it is probable that in the ladles the measure of the *cyathus* was not always adhered to. The following engraving represents one of them.



As regards the shape of the goblets generally, we must especially distinguish between flat saucers (*pateræ*, *phialæ*), cups with handles (Virg. *Ecl.* vi. 17; Cic. *Verr.* iv. 27), and those in the form of chalices (*calices*), which must not be fancied as having stood on a high foot: the glass vessels given in the *Mus. Borb.* (t. 13), and two of which are given in the next page, are of the second kind. Of the rest, there were, of course, many varieties, some also in fantastic shapes, as shoes, legs, heads of beasts, &c.; these latter were used as drinking-horns, from the lower end of which the wine escaped through an orifice, and was caught in the mouth. Such a horn, in the shape of a stag's head, is to be found in the *Mus. Borb.* (viii. 14), which also contains three others, a horse's, a dog's, and a swine's head. (v. 20). Such drinking-horns were termed *πυρά*, Athen. xi. 496. Perhaps *rhytium* (in Mart. ii. 35) means the same thing. They occur most frequently on vases.



See Boettig. *Kunstmyth.* ii. 352. The act of drinking is seen in a painting in Zahn, *Ornam.* etc. t. 29; *Pitt. d'Ercol.* v. t. 46.



Obscene shapes were selected, and indecent things engraved upon the goblets. Juv. ii. 95; Plin. xxiii.; Præf. xiv. 22.

We have already spoken, in the notes on scene II., of the extraordinary luxury which prevailed in respect to these utensils. But besides those there described, there were others of a more simple kind, and of common glass (*vitrea*), in opposition to the *crystallina*; of wood, *fagus*, *buxus*, *terebinthus*, *hedera* (Tib. i. 10; Ovid, *Fast.* v. 522); also of earthenware (Mart. xiv. 102), *Calices Surrentini*; the same (108), *Calices Saguntini*.

In a wider sense *crater*, or *cratera*, the larger vessel wherein the wine was mixed, belongs to the drinking utensils, as also the *echinus*, which (at least by Voss and Heindorf on Hor. *Sat.* i. 6, 117) is explained to be a bowl for washing the goblets in.

## EXCURSUS IV. SCENE IX.

### THE DRINKS.

**A**LTHOUGH Roman authors name several drinks, prepared both from grain, as *zythum*; from wheat and barley, *camum* and *cerevisia* (*ceria*, *celia*); from fruits, as the quince, *cydoneum*; and from honey and water, as *hydromeli*, consequently a sort of mead; yet the Romans knew (besides the *ἀριστον* *ᾠδον*), wine only as a drink; and those potations resembling beer, cider, and mead, belonged only to different provinces, governed by Roman laws, and are therefore taken cognizance of among other things, under the head *de vino legato*. Ulp. *Dig.* xxxiii. 6, 9; Pliny, xxii. 25.

Wine was, however, no doubt, mixed with other things, to produce certain drinks, the way of preparing and taking which was, in general, quite different from ours.

The following are the most important of the numerous works on this subject, Pliny, xiv. 8, seqq.; Colum. xii., with Schneider's remarks, ii. 2; Virg. *Georg.* ii., with Voss' notes; Athen. i.; Poll. vi. 4; Galen, *De Antidotis*, i. 9; *Dig.* xxx. 6: and of modern authors, Bacci, *de nat. vinorum hist.*; Beckmann, *Beitr.*, &c. i. 183; Boettiger, *Ueber die Pflege d. Weins. b. d. alt. Röm.*

Pliny's remark, *Ac si quis diligenter cogitet, in nulla parte operosior vita est, ceu non saluberrimum potum aquæ liquorem natura dederit*, can be applied to our own times, but the process among the ancients was much more tedious. The grapes hung upon the trees till they became ripe (*vinum pendens*, Plaut. *Trin.* ii. 4, 125; Cato, *R. R.*, 147), and were collected in baskets, *corbulæ*, *fiscellæ*, and also in skins: *legere* and *cogere* are the terms for this operation.

The bas-relief of a marble basin in the *Mus. Borb.* ii. t. 11, representing a vintage of the satyrs, is very amusing: some of them are carrying the grapes in skins of animals sewn together, others press them with pieces of rock: in all the figures there is an expression of life and merriment suitable to a vintage.

The collected grapes were next trodden upon with the naked feet, *calcare*. *Geopon.* vi. 11; *Virg. Georg.* ii. 7. After treading them out twice, the husks were placed under the press, and hence the distinction between the *vinum* or *mustum calcatum*, and *pressum*. According to Pliny ix., the first sort was the spontaneous exudation of the grape. The second sort was the first flowing off during the process of treading, *antequam nimium calcetur uva*, and it was used above all others for making *mulsum* (Col. xii. 41); and, lastly, the later draining off, which partook more of the roughness of the husk.

In order to allow the watery particles to escape, the grapes were also spread on trellis-work, and left there for seven days. This was called *vinum diachytum*. Pliny, *ita fieri optimi odoris saporisque*. If sweeter and stronger wine were desired, the grapes were allowed to wither entirely, *uva passa*, *vinum passum*. Finally, it was boiled. Pliny. Commoner wines were doctored with this boiled wine, and even in those days the art of improving cheaper wines, by mixing them with the dregs of those of finer quality, had been discovered. *Hor. Sat.* ii. 4, 55; *Colum.* xii. 30.

The must was immediately drawn off from the *lacus torcularius*, into large earthen vessels, *dolia*, for the purpose of undergoing fermentation, *condere*. *Varro*, i. 65. Wooden wine-vessels were not in use in Pliny's time, either in Greece or Rome, as he expressly states, c. 21. When *Pallad.* x. 11, says, *dolium ducentorum congiarum xii libris picetur*, it appears scarcely possible that earthen vessels, capable of containing twenty-five *amphoræ*, could have been made; but we may suppose that these *dolia* were of considerable dimensions from the comparison in *Plaut. Pseud.* ii. 2, 64, *anus doliaris*. There is also a striking passage in *Petron.* 64. When *Boettiger* said, 'it was always considered preferable not to use *dolia* of any very great size, to keep the better wines in,' he misunderstood Pliny, v. 21, according to whom, not large, but too round, vessels were rejected, and longer ones of less diameter, recommended instead. The *seriæ*, in Col. xii. 18, distinguished from the *dolia*, answered the same purpose.

The *dolia* were smeared with pitch before being used: new ones were so treated at once, after coming from the oven. *Geop.*

vi. 4. Boettiger's remark, 'that the young wine was immediately poured into these earthen vessels, which had been previously smeared with wax, *imbuere*,' seems hasty; for what Columella says of *ceratura* (xii. 52, 16), applies only to the *dolia olearia*, with which Cato (69) agrees, only that he recommends the second process with the *amurca*. After this operation, for which the best pitch, tempered with a little wax (one twelfth, Pallad.), as well as with aromatics, was used, the subsequent process is described by Pliny, c. 21. Comp. *Geopon.* vi. 9.

They were then filled, but never to the brim. Pliny; comp. *Geop.* vi. 12. The vessels remained unclosed as long as the fermentation was going on, and even then were not fastened either by a cork, pitch, or gypsum. The *cella vinaria*, in which the *dolia* were kept, was a cool chamber, entirely, or at least so far above the ground, that it could have windows. See note 4, p. 67. But the *dolia* were at times either partially, or altogether let into the ground. Pliny. These are *dolia demersa* (Colum. xii. 17, 5), or *depressa* (*Dig.* xxxiii. 6, 3), also *defossa* (the same, 7, 8.)

Much wine was drunk direct from the *dolium*, or *cupa*; *vinum doliare*, or *de cupa*. Boettiger is quite wrong in explaining the words of Cicero, *vinum a propola et de cupa*, as follows: 'to take the wine from the landlady.' Even if the form *cupa* for *copa* be allowed, (see Bentley on Hor. *Sat.* ii. 2, 123, and Tegen. *de Copa*, Virg.), yet the different prepositions prove that *cupa* signifies a larger wine vessel, for the same use as the *dolium*.

It was, however, the common wine only which would not bear keeping (*ætatem ferre*); the better kind, when perfectly still, was distributed into *amphoræ*, or *lagenæ* (*diffundebatur*). Pliny could not tell whether this took place in more ancient times. c. 14. The *amphoræ* were made of clay, or glass, and fastened up by a bung (*cortex, suber*), and then covered with gypsum, or pitch, to prevent any effects from the air. Petron. 34. On the *amphora* was written the name of the consul, to mark the date, and labels (*tesseræ, pittacia*), with the name, were hung on those of glass. Comp. Beckmann, *Beitr.* ii. 482. It is interesting to learn by pictures from Pompeii (*Mus. Borb.* iv.; *Relaz. d. Scav.* t. A. and V. t. 48) the manner of conveying wine which had been purchased. Both the pictures are alike; they represent

two carriages, consisting of a light rack-shaped body, and the whole interior of which is filled by a single large skin. This skin has in front a wide opening, which is tied up, and through which the wine was evidently poured, whilst behind, it is produced into a narrow bag, from which the wine was suffered to run out. Two men are busily letting off the contents into long two-handed vessels, *amphoræ*. It was therefore not must, but wine.

The *amphora* was next placed in the *apotheca*, which was quite different from the *cella vinaria*, and in the upper story: the best position for it was above the bath, so that the smoke might be conducted thither, and so forward the wine. Colum. i. 6, 20; comp. Heind. on Hor. *Sat.* ii. 5, 7; and Hor. *Od.* iii. 8, 9; from which we may learn the whole process:

Hic dies anno redeunte festus  
Corticem adstrictum pice demovebit  
Amphoræ, fumum bibere institutæ  
Consule Tullo.

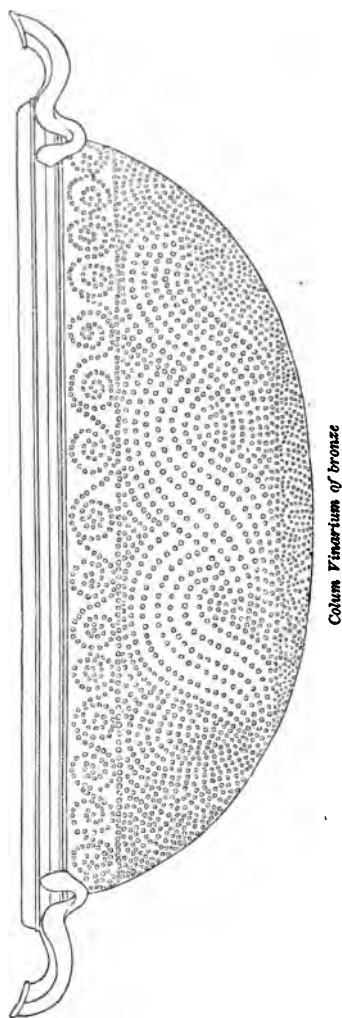
Hence such expressions as *Descende testa* (iii. 21, 7), and *Parcis deripere horreo amphoram* (28, 7), may be explained.

After this process, the wine still retained a good deal of lees, and if wanted for use, had to be cleared. This was effected in various ways. The gourmand, who (Hor. *Sat.* ii. 4, 51) communicates the result of his experience about the kitchen and cellar, states the best means. The method of purifying wine by eggs was known. *Ibid.* 55.

It was in general, however, strained through the *saccus vinarius* and the *colum*, a kind of metal sieve, with small holes in it. Numbers of such *cola* have been discovered at Pompeii. In the *Mus. Borb.* iii. t. 31, are five smaller ones, all of which had handles, and were consequently held in the hand during the straining. In ii. t. 60, is a larger one with two handles, by which it was probably hung over a vessel, into which wine was running. A copy of it is given in p. 378. A silver bowl with beautiful *cælatura*, and also a silver *colum*, may have served a like purpose. *Ibid.* viii. t. 14. The *saccus*, on the contrary, was a filter-bag of linen, and the worst means, as by being strained through it, the wine became wretched (*vappa*). Hence in Horace:

Integrum perdunt lino vitata saporem.

The relative position to each other of *colum* and *saccus*, is shewn by comparing two epigrams of Martial. But the *saccus*



*Colum Vincarium of bronze*

was also used for good wine. Mart. viii. 43. It was customary to fill the *colum* and *saccus* with snow, upon which the wine was poured for the purpose of being cooled. With this view, the

snow was carefully preserved till summer time, just as is now the case in Naples, *æstivæ nives*. Mart. v. 64, ix. 23, 8, 91, 5; Pliny, xix. 4, 19. This, however, was not enough, but by a still greater refinement, a difference was discovered between snow and water boiled, but afterwards reduced to freezing point, by being mixed with snow. Plin. xxxi. 3, 23; Mart. xiv. 107, and 106. In this way the water sometimes cost more than the wine, as Martial says, *Ep.* 108. They had besides another object in this straining—to moderate the intoxicating power of the old heavy wine. Pliny, xiv. 22; comp. xxiii. 1, 24. This was termed *castrare vinum* (Pliny, xix. 4, 19), but the general expressions were, *defæcare, liquare, colare, saccare*.

The colour of most wines was probably dark, as is now the case with all the southern wines. There were, however, also wines of a lighter tint; and as we distinguish between white and red, so did they between *album* and *atrum*. Plaut. *Menæch.* v. 5, 17. Pliny names four colours (xiv. 9), *albus, fulvus, sanguineus, niger*. *Nigrum*, and *album*, denote the darkest red, and *album* the bright yellow, which we also call white. We know that the celebrated Falernian was of this colour, from the finest amber having been named after it. Plin. xxxvii. 3, 12.

From what we know concerning the treatment of wines, it is clear that old wines were considered preferable, and even a common wine, if of some age, was more grateful than young Falernian. Mart. xiii. 120. Perhaps as much deception was practised then, as in the present times, about the age of wines. Mart. iii. 62, and xiii. 111.

The *amphoræ* on the table of Trimalchio bore the label, *Falernum Opimianum annorum centum*, in which there is a double absurdity: first, in assigning a fixed age to wine, which every year became older, and then in calling the *Opimianum* a century old, as that period, the most illustrious in the annals of Italy, belonged to A.U.C. 633, and the wine must therefore at that time have been at least 160 or 170 years old, and we may easily conceive that at a still later period it was supposed to be drunk, long after it had, in fact, ceased to exist.

The different growths are detailed by Pliny, xiv. 6. Comp. Schneid. *Ind. Script.* 411; Mart. xiii. 106, 125. According to Pliny, the *Cæcubum* had from ancient times held the first

rank among western wines. Like all the best wines it grew in Campania, in the *Sinus Caietanus*, near Amyclæ. In the time of Pliny, the vineyards had been ruined principally by the canal of Nero, but at an earlier period Augustus had assigned the palm to the Setinian, which also maintained its superiority after the *Cæcubum* was lost. The Falernian was second in rank, and the best description of it, the *Faustianum*, grew between Sinuessa and Cedia, and is supposed to have received its name from Sylla (Faustus). The third place was contended for by the *Albanum*, *Surrentinum*, and *Massicum*, as well as by the *Caleanum* and *Fordanum*. After the time of Julius Cæsar, the fourth place was held by the *Mamertinum*, from the neighbourhood of Messina, and *Taurominitanum* was frequently sold for it. The middling kinds were the *Trifolinum*, from the hill Trifolium, in Campania (in Mart. xiii. 14, *septima vitis*); *Sigininum*, *Sabinum*, *Nomentanum*, and others. As the commonest are named *Vaticanum* (frequently mentioned by Mart. vi. 92, x. 45); *Veientanum*, from the vicinity of Veii, which gained the epithet *rubellum*, from its colour having a reddish tint. Mart. i. 104. Besides these, there were the *Pelignum*, Mart. i. 27, xiii. 121; the *Laletanum* (from Spain), i. 27, vii. 53; and the *Massilitanum*, x. 36, xiii. 123. Much adulteration was practised, not only in mixing different wines, and adding *sapa* and *defrutum*, and foreign wines, especially from Tmolus, but also deleterious substances. See Beckmann, *Beitr.* i. 181.

Next to these western wines came the *transmarina*, or Greek, which Pliny esteemed. The best were the *Thasium*, *Chium*, *Lesbium*, *Sicyonium*, *Cyprium*, and, in the time of Pliny, the *Clazomenium* especially.

Still they were not content with this variety, but the wines from a very early period (Plin. 13, 15) were doctored with all kinds of aromatics and bitters, as *myrrha*, aloes, and the like. Pallad. xi. 14. Even costly essential oils were mixed with the wines, which also were drunk out of vessels that had held them. Plin. xiii. 15. Martial calls this *foliata sitis*, because the *nardinum* was also called simply *foliatum*. Comp. Juv. vi. 303.

Next to wine, the *mulsum* was a very favourite drink; different accounts are given of the manner of preparing it. According to Colum. (xiii. 41), the best must was taken direct



from the *lacus*, ten pounds of honey were then mixed with an *urna* of it, and it was at once poured into *lagenæ*, and covered up with gypsum. After thirty-two days, these vessels were to be opened, and the drink poured into others. This way of making it, however, was not general, as is proved by Hor. *Sat.* ii. 4, 24; by Macrob. *Sat.* vii. 12, and other passages. In *Geopon.* (viii. 25, 26), the two plans of making, viz. from four-fifths of wine and one of honey, and also from ten-elevenths of must and one of honey, are taught. Pallad. xi. 17. The Greek name for it was *οινόμελι*; there was also another meaning for it, as we see from Ulp. *Dig.* xxxiii. 6, 9. The different kinds of honey are mentioned in note 30, p. 61. The *mulsum* was principally drunk at the *prandium* and the *gustus*. Sack sometimes supplied its place. Mart. xiii. 106.



The *caldæ*, the only warm drink among the ancients, consisted of warm water and wine, perhaps with the addition of spice. See Rup. on *Juv.* v. 63, and note 2, p. 143. Boettiger says,

(*Sab.* ii. 35), 'It is quite credible that the ancients had something to match our tea and coffee services;' and in corroboration of this, we call the attention of the reader to an ancient vessel, which evidently served for preparing, or keeping warm the *calda*. It is of very elegant form, resembling a tureen, and is made of bronze. The engraving of it, given in p. 381, is copied from the *Mus. Borb.* iii. 62.

In the centre is a cylinder reaching to the bottom, which held the coals for warming the liquids around it, and underneath this cylinder is an orifice for the ashes to fall through. The conical cover cannot be taken off, but there is underneath a second flat cover, which is moveable, and only covers the parts containing the fluids, leaving the remainder open. On the upper rim is a sort of cup, united by a pipe with the interior of the vessel, so that it might be filled without the lid being removed. On the opposite side a tap is fixed, for the purpose of letting the liquid run out.

The use of this vessel is undoubted, but a Roman name can hardly be assigned to it, and from among those named by Poll. x. 66, *ἰπνολέβης*, after Lucian (*Lexiph.* 828), seems the only probable one. The most natural name would certainly be *caldarium*, but for that we have no authority. We must not suppose that such a vessel was always used for the *calda*, as in general the water was brought in jugs or cans, named by Martial, xiv. 105, *urceoli ministratorii*.

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## EXCURSUS I. SCENE X.

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### THE MANNER OF LIGHTING.

ONE of the imperfections in the domestic economy of the ancients was the universal use of oil-lamps. Had they provided against their uncleanness by having glass cylinders to consume the smoke (*fuligo*), we should not be so much surprised at the preference given to oil over tallow and wax. But they had no invention of the sort, and in spite of all the elegance and ingenuity displayed in their lamps of bronze and precious metals, the ancients could not prevent their ornamented oilings from being blackened, and their breathing oppressed, by smoke. The nature of the country doubtless led them to use oil, but its cheapness does not appear a sufficient reason for their having continued to bear its discomforts, and we must therefore rather suppose that at that time wax and tallow candles were not made skilfully enough to afford a good light: hence we find that the *lucerna* was used by the poor, whilst the smoky oil-lamp was burned in the palaces of the wealthy.

The whole apparatus for lighting is mentioned by Apul. *Met.* iv. The *tædæ*, properly slips of pine, were not intended for the usual house-lighting, so that only the *lucernæ* and *candelæ*, which latter are partly *ceræ*, and partly *sebaceæ*, remain to be noticed. We learn that these only were in use at a more ancient period, the lamp being of later invention. Varro, *L. L.* v. 34; also *De vita Pop. Rom.*; Mart. xiv. 43; Athen. xv. 700. Instead of our wick, they used for the *candelæ*, the pith of a kind of rush, the indigenous papyrus, *scirpus*. Plin. xvi. 37, 70; *Anthol. Pal.* vi. 249. Perhaps the same thing may also be understood by the *funiculus* of Varro. These rushes were smeared over with wax or tallow, although tallow-candles, *sebaceæ* (in Amm. Marc. xviii. 6, *fax sebalis*), were only employed for the commonest purposes. We learn from Varro that there were other *candelæ*, in earlier times, besides the *cereæ*. Martial has, among his *Apophoreta*, two different epigrams (*candela* and *cereus*, 40,

and 42), in both of which he appears to mean that the *candela* and *cereus* were considered commoner than the *lucerna*. This is more plain from Juv. iii. 287, where Umbricius says of himself in distinction to the *ænea lampas* of the rich :

——— Quem luna solet deducere vel breve lumen  
Candelæ, cujus, dispenso et tempore filum ;

and from Pliny, xxxiv. 3, 6, where he speaks of the extravagant prices of the *candelabra*, which nevertheless took their name from so insignificant a thing. Wax candles are, however, mentioned with lamps in descriptions of splendour and profusion ; and Virgil (*Æn.* i. 727) says of the palace of Dido :

——— dependent lychni laquearibus aureis  
Incensi et noctem flammis funalia vincunt.

Boettiger (*Amalthea*, iii. 168) was therefore wrong in supposing that the ancients were unacquainted with the use of wax lights. The *cerei*, the use of which at the nocturnal *commissatio* is mentioned by Seneca, *Epist.* 22, and the *candelæ* generally were not torches, and the *candelabra* were formed to hold them.

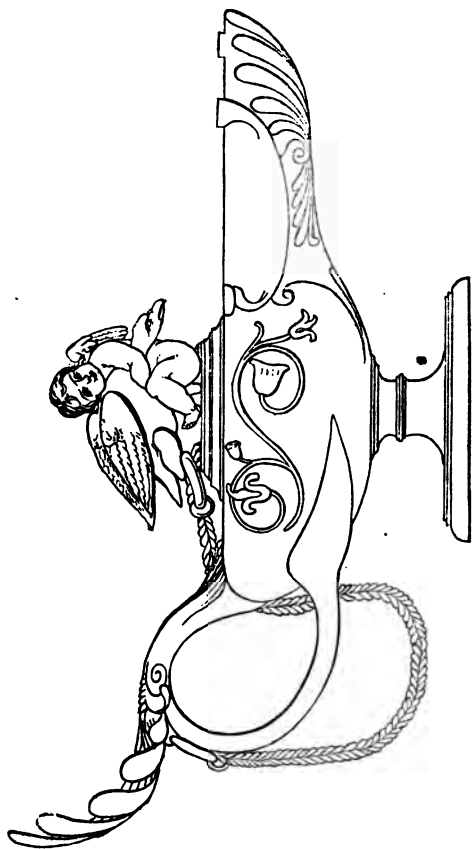
Lamps, *lucernæ*, are still extant in great numbers, and from the elegance of their forms, and the emblematic ornaments upon them, they, with the *candelabra*, are among the most interesting of antiquities. The most important works on this subject are, Bellori, *Lucernæ sepulcrales* ; Passori, *Luc fictiles* ; *Antichità d'Ercolano*, viii. ; *Mus. Borb.* ; Millin. *Monum. ined.* ii. 160 ; Boettiger, *Amalth.* iii. 168.

The difference frequently made between *lucernæ cubiculares*, *balneares*, *tricliniæ*, *sepulcrales*, can only refer to the different uses, and the most we can assume is that the *tricliniæ* were more elegant than the *balneares*, and had more wicks than the *cubiculares*, which last, although the proper night-lamps, served for lighting the sitting-rooms generally. Mart. x. 38, 7, and xiv. 39. The *sepulcrales*, so called from having been frequently found in tombs, were not made for that purpose, but only given to the deceased as usual lamps.

Most of the lamps we possess are of *terra cotta*, or bronze, but *lucernæ aureæ*, *argenteæ*, *vitreæ*, and even of marble, are mentioned. Those of *terra cotta* are usually of a long round form, flat and without feet : on the upper part, where the orifice for pouring in the oil is, there are often designs in relief, chiefly.

mythological, and far better than could be expected on utensils of every-day use. Sometimes they have only one wick, *monomyxes*, *monolychnis*; (*dilychnis*, Petron. 30), at others, several, *dimyxi*, *trimyxi*, *polymyxi*. Mart. xiv. 41. They seem to have been used chiefly in the *triclinia*, or the larger rooms. In the *Antich. d'Ercol.* are wreath-shaped lamps for nine and twelve wicks, and one in the form of a skiff for fourteen wicks. See Juven. vi. 305; Petron. 64.

The bronze lamps were still more elegant. Among the most tasteful are the *dimyxos*, on which a winged boy is grouped with a goose; a copy of which is here given from the *Mus. Borb.* iv.



14; one with three lights, on which is a dancer with the Phrygian cap (*Antich. d'Ercol.* t. 29), and one with a Silenus. *Mus. Borb.* i. t. 10.

Hemp, *cannabis*, and flax, or the tow taken from it, were used as wicks (Plin. xix. 1, 3), and the leaves of a kind of *verbascum*, thence called *φλόμος λυχνίτις*. Diosc. iv. 106; Plin. xxv. 10, 74. A lamp is said to have been found at Stabiae with the wick still preserved.

As the orifice for pouring in the oil was small, special boat-like vessels, *infundibula*, having in front a small hole only, through which the oil was poured, were used. Instruments were also used for snuffing the wicks, and were fastened by a chain to the lamp. Small pincers for raising the wicks have also been



found at Pompeii in great numbers. When a figure stood upon the lamp, it sometimes held this instrument by a chain in its hand. *Antich.* etc. t. 28, 69; *Mus. Borb.* iv. t. 58, vii. t. 15.

The lamps were either placed on a *candelabrum*, or were suspended by chains from the roof. Virg. *Æn.* i. 727; Petron. 30. There were also *candelabra*, with a number of branches, on which lamps could be hung. Serv. on Virg. *supra*; Donat. on Ter. *Andr.* i. 1, 88. The hand-candelabra mentioned by Servius, were probably of the same kind as the *lychnuchi* in the *Lampadedromiæ*, where, by a plate, on which stood the candle, the hand was protected from the dripping of the hot wax, and the flame from the draught of air.

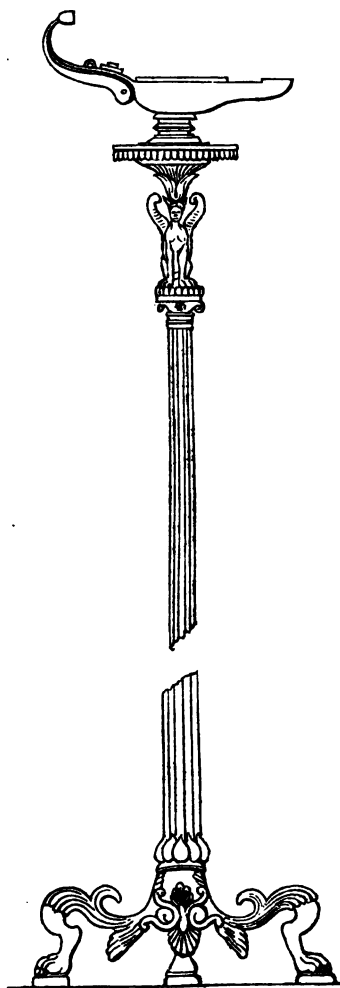
Originally, as is apparent from the name, *candelabrum* signified candle-holder, and not lamp-holder. Those found in the buried towns are of very different heights; from one Neapolitan palm to upwards of six, or even seven, palms. They stood upon the ground, but were, in comparison with the tables and sofas, of a considerable height. *Lucerna de specula candelabri.* Appul. *Met.* ii.

The poorer classes used those made of wood. Cic. *ad. Quint. fr.* iii. 7; Mart. xiv. 44; Petron. 95; comp. Athen. xv. 700. In the temples and palaces, and places where they remained fix-

tures, they were made of marble, and ornamented with reliefs (*Mus. Pio. Clem.* iv. 1, 5, v. i. 9); and when intended as offerings to the gods, of valuable metals, or even of precious stones, like that which Antiochus designed for the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. *Cic. Verr.* iv. 28.

The proper candelabra (also *lyohnuchi*) for the *lampadaria*, in the form of statues and trees, were the inventions of a later age. They consisted of three and sometimes four pieces—the foot, the shaft, and the *discus* or plate. The slender shaft was usually fluted, and rested on three feet of animals, above which was some leaf-ornament—it terminated in a capital, on which was a kind of vase, covered by the plate bearing the lamp. Sometimes a head or figure was above the capital, and supported the plate, as is the case in the *Mus. Borh.* iv. t. 57, and in the accompanying engraving.

The candelabra produced at Ægina and Tarentum were especially remarkable for the beauty of their workmanship, and each place signalized itself in the construction of certain parts. *Plin.* xxxiv. 3, 6; comp. *Mueller, Æginet.* p. 80. Some have a second plate immediately above the foot, and are beautifully ornamented. There were also Corinthian ones, as they were called, which sold at high prices (*Mart.* xiv. 43), but Pliny denies that they were genuine.



There were also candelabra so constructed that the lamps could be raised or lowered; in these the shaft was hollow, and into it a staff was fitted; this bore the plate, and had several holes, into which a pin could be inserted. One of these is copied in the *Antich.* t. 70, and a still more ingenious one in t. 71, and *Mus. Borb.* vi. 61: in the latter the animals' feet could be laid together by a hinge attached, and it seems to have been thus made for use on a journey: it was only three palms five inches high, but could be lengthened if necessary.

There were also four other sorts of candelabra, in which the simple shaft became either a statue holding a torch, from which the lamp burned (*Mus. Borb.* vii. t. 15), or above which two arms were raised, holding the plate, (iv. t. 59, vii. t. 30), or the shaft was changed into a column, whereon a Moor's head served as a lamp (vii. t. 15). But still more numerous are those called *lampadaria*: they are stems of trees, or pillars standing on a base, from the capital of which the lamps were suspended. *Mus. Borb.* ii. t. 13, viii. t. 31; *Antich.* t. 65, 8. But these must not be confounded with the *lychnuchi*, mentioned by Pliny (xxxiv. 3, 8), as he was describing something unusual, and the *lychnuchi pensiles* may perhaps be compared to our chandeliers. That in the temple of Apollo, however, was of the time of Alexander. Something similar is possibly intended by Athen. xv. 700. The lamps often stood also on tripods.

They could scarcely have held sufficient oil to have kept burning continually, when the revels lasted late, and fresh oil was therefore supplied. Petron. 22; in c. 70, we find sweet-smelling oil added, an act of extravagance also mentioned in Martial, x. 38, 9.

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## EXCURSUS II. SCENE X.

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### THE GARLANDS.

IT is not our intention to discuss in its fullest extent and several relations the use made by the ancients of chaplets, —a subject entering deeply into civil and religious life, as the simple ornament of leaves became a symbol of martial renown and civil virtue. There is no lack of works upon the subject. Paschalius, in his *Coronæ*, gives a tolerable collection of badly elaborated materials; the work of Lanzoni, *De Coronis et Unguentis in ant. Conv.*, confines itself to the banquets; and still less important is that of Schmeizel, *De Coronis*. The notices, however, given directly by ancient authors are of more consequence. As the work upon chaplets by Ælius Asclepiades, and the writings of the physicians Mnesitheus and Callimachus, are lost, our information is mainly derived from Athenæus (xv), Pliny, xxi. 1, 4, and other scattered passages.

It would be difficult to assign any year or period when the use of chaplets at meals, or rather at the carousal, was first introduced at Rome; but we learn from Pliny, that as early as the second Punic war, chaplets of roses were worn. The walls of the *triclinium* only were, however, privy to this decoration, which, although so harmless in itself, was considered incompatible with sobriety of character, and he who appeared in public so adorned was liable to punishment. Two examples of such punishment are related by Pliny (56); but it was perhaps only the flowers that drew down this condemnation, because at that period of misfortune such an open display of luxury seemed to have a dangerous tendency. On the other hand, it would appear that fillets were worn round the head even before this time, to counteract the effects of the wine. Hence arose by degrees the chaplets of leaves and flowers, to which however the name *coronæ* was not given till later, as in earlier times it was reserved for religious usages and warlike distinctions. Pliny agrees with Athenæus (xv. 674), who follows the old writers concerning the early Grecian customs. The chaplets which

superseded the simple fillets were not, however, considered as mere ornaments, but it was believed, or at least pretended, that certain leaves and flowers exercised a beneficial influence against the intoxicating power of wine. Thus, in Plutarch (*Symp.* iii. 1), the physician Tryphon defends the use of chaplets at wine against the imputations of Ammonius. He praises the ἐπιμέλεια and πολυπειρία of former times, which had discovered in the chaplets an antidote to the influence of wine; and Athenæus (675) mentions the same thing.

A simple branch of green served for a chaplet at the games, and probably for the *corona convivialis* also in the first instance, flowers being a later intrusion. When, however, Pliny says that Pausias and Glycera were the first to weave chaplets of flowers, it is only an instance of persons celebrated in a manufacture being set up as the inventors of it, as we can cite statues with chaplets of flowers of a date far earlier than Pausias. The Greeks wove numerous kinds of flowers into chaplets; but with the Romans it was different. Besides the green leaves of the ivy, myrtle, and *apium*, they used but few garden-flowers for chaplets, and of these chiefly the violet and rose. See note 11, p. 7; Plin. s. 10. But they did not stop with these natural materials, especially as chaplets were required in winter also, when roses could be obtained only at a very great expense; hence imitations were made of various materials. What Pliny says (s. 3) of the gold and silver garlands, applies only to the public games. No further intelligence is given about the Egyptian ones (see Boettig. *Sab.* i. 231); but as they are distinguished from the *hibernæ*, they would seem not to have been artificial. The *hibernæ* were made of thin leaves of horn dyed; and such might be understood in Martial (vi. 80), did not the *Nova dona* and the antithesis, *rus Pæstanum*, and *horti Memphitici*, point to natural flowers.

Pliny (s. 8) relates that the luxury in them went still further. Chaplets were made of single rose-leaves by fastening them to a strip of bast, but we must not think that *coronæ sutiles* are always to be taken in this sense, as the chaplets of *nardus* are also called *sutiles*, and the *sericæ versicolores* likewise, although they were probably only imitations of flowers. See Lucan, *Phars.* x. 164; Mart. xiii. 51. The chaplets in those passages denominated

*sertæ*, and *textæ* are simply *sutiles*, just as in Horace (*Od.* i. 38, 2), the *nexæ philyra coronæ*, but there is no reason to suppose chaplets *e mero filio rosæ*. Chaplets were frequently found on monuments, with leaf lying over leaf, and rose on rose; and it is possible that, in such cases, the roses were fastened on a strip of bast, *philyra*; they would then be rightly termed *sutiles*. These are meant in Ovid. *Fast.* v. 335, and Martial x. 94. The *sutiles* are again mentioned in Mart. v. 65, ix. 91; and *ῥαπτοὶ στέφανοι*, in Hesychius and Salm. on *Jul. Cap. Anton.* 4. Salm. *Exerc. ad Sol.* 703, appears rightly to explain the *coronæ tonsæ*, or *tonsiles*, to be chaplets made of single leaves.

Respecting the nature of the chaplets called *pactiles* by Pliny, we can presume nothing certain, not even whether they are to be distinguished from the *coronæ plectiles* of Plautus (*Bacchid.* i. 1. 37); and what he says (s. i.) is also obscure. We may in general assume three main distinctions; they were either woven of longer twigs, as of ivy, or of shorter sprigs, as of the *apium*, or were fastened to a band.

At the *cæna* itself chaplets were not generally used; they belonged, like the *unguenta*, to the regular *comissatio*, or to the *compotatio*, succeeding the main course. See note 1, p. 142. They were distributed when the *mensa secunda* was served, or perhaps later. See Plut. *Symp.* iii. 1; Athen. xv. 685 and 669; Mart. x. 19, 18; Petron. 60, *coronæ aureæ cum alabastris unguenti*. It appears to have been usual for the host to give chaplets, and sometimes to have them handed round repeatedly; and we cannot infer from Ovid (*Fasti* i. 403), that the ancient custom, according to which each guest took his own garland, was adhered to.

They also hung festoons of flowers over their neck and breast, called by the Greeks *ὑποθυμίδες*. Plut. *Symp.* iii. 1, 3; Athen. 678 and 688. This does not seem to have been usual amongst the Romans, but the custom is mentioned in Cic. *Verr.* v. iii; Catull. vii. 51; and Ovid, *Fasti* ii. 739. In Petronius there are further instances of various ways of garlanding (65 and 70). Comp. Boettig. *Sab* i. 240. At Rome the dietetic signification of the chaplet was lost sight of, and it was only regarded as a cheerful ornament and symbol of festivity.

### EXCURSUS III. SCENE X.

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#### THE SOCIAL GAMES.

WE must not omit to mention those games which were pursued, not only as a recreation, but also with the hope of gain. The game of hazard had become a most pernicious mania at Rome; and severe legal prohibitions could not prevent the ruin of the happiness and fortunes of many by private gambling with dice. They had also other and more innocent games, success in which depended wholly on the skill of the players, like the game of chess at the present day, and other table-games. We shall mention all these games, but the matter is so intricate, and the inquiry so intimately connected with that into the Grecian games, that we cannot treat upon it fully; but for a more detailed account the reader is referred to Becker's *Antiquitates Plautinæ*.

The older writings upon the subject by Bulenger, Meursius, Souter, Senftleben, Calcaguino, are to be found in Gronovii, *Thes. Antt. Græc.* viii. Next come Salmas. on *Vopisc. Procul*, 13, 736; and *Exercitt. ad Sol.* p. 795; Rader on *Mart. passim*; Wernsdorf on *Saleius Bass.*; Wüstem. *Pal. des Scaur.*

In the game of dice, *alea*, two kinds of dice were used, *tali* or ἀσπράγαλοι, and *tesseræ* or κύβοι. Herodotus (i. 94), ascribes the invention of the game to the Lydians; but Athenæus (i. 19), cites anterior instances of it. Nitzsch *Ann. zu Hom. Odys.* i. p. 27. The *tali* (the chief passages about which are Eustath. on *Odys.* i. p. 397; Poll. ix. 99) were originally made of the knuckles of animals; afterwards of different materials: they had only four flat surfaces; on the other two sides they were uneven or rounded, so that the die could not easily rest upon either of them. One and six were marked on two opposite sides, and three and four on the other. The numbers two and five were wanting. Eustath. p. 1397; Poll. as above. The manner of playing is described in Cic. *De Divin.* i. 13.

The four dice were thrown out of a cup of horn, box-wood,

or ivory, which had graduated intervals inside, that the dice might be better mixed. This cup was narrower at the top than below, and, from its shape was called *pyrgus* or *turricula*, also *phimus*, and most commonly *fritillus*. Sidon. *Epist.* viii. 12; Mart. xiv. 16. *Phimus* is used, Hor. *Sat.* ii. 7, 17. Etym. Magn. Φιμοὶ κυβευτικὰ ὄργανα. Poll. vii. 203; x. 150. *Orca*, Pers. iii., and in a fragment of Pomponius, it is also so explained.

The dice were thrown on a table made for the purpose, *alveus*, *alveolus*, *abacus*, with a slightly elevated rim to prevent them from falling. The best throw was called *Venus* or *Venerus* (βόλος, *jactus*), the worst *canis*. These names, and a passage in Pollux, have led to the idea that the dice were not numbered, but had figures which stood for certain numbers. But it is doubtful whether Pollux, by the expression σχῆμα τοῦ πτώματος, meant a mark on the dice, or the casual combination produced by the throw, as when three, four, four, six, or one, three, six, six, were turned up. Eustathius names the four sides μονάδα καὶ ἐξάδα, τριάδα καὶ τέτραδα, and there were indeed separate names for each turn up. Some throws appear to have counted more than were actually turned up. So says Eust. on *Iliad.* xxiii. 87, and also Pollux. Four dice only could have been played with, because with five the *Venus* would never have been thrown, and these four, even though *seniones*, could only count twenty-four.

The most fortunate throw was when all four-dice presented different numbers; as is clear from Lucian, *Amor.* 884, and Mart. xiv. 14; it was called the *Venus* or *Venerus*. Whether κῶφος had the same signification, or meant *seniones*, is doubtful.

The worst throw is supposed to have been when all four dice presented the same number, but this is not quite correct. It was not the same thing whether four μονάδες, or four τετράδες, and so on, were turned up; and there was no *canis* except all four presented an ace. This is shewn by Suet. *Aug.* 71, where the word *canis* is applied to the ace, as *senio* to the six; and so says Pollux, καὶ τὸ μὲν μονάδα δηλοῦν κύων καλεῖται. In Plaut. *Curc.* ii. 3, 75, it is improbable that *volturii quatuor* denote *canis*, or that the *basilicus* is equivalent to *Venerus*. The game was not always played so that the winning or losing

depended on the *Venerus* or *canis*, but on the number of pips or *μονάδες*. The Greeks called this *πλειστοβολίνδα παίζειν*. Poll. ix. 95. Perhaps this was played more frequently with the regular six-sided dice, *tesserae* or *κύβοι*, but the *tali* were also used for it. Poll. ix. 117. Comp. Athen. x. 444. The *tesserae* were just like our dice, the sides were numbered 1 to 6, and the two opposite sides always counted together, seven. Though four dice were required in the game of *ἀστράγαλοι*, only three, and later two, *tesserae* were used. Hesych.; Mart. xiv. 15. We do not learn whether this game always depended upon turning up the most pips, or whether doublets counted extra, but the simple *πλειστοβολίνδα παίζειν* was at any rate most common. The game with the *tesserae* was always played for money or something representing it, whilst the *tali* were used in other ways also. The manner of playing it is related in Suet. Aug. 71, and Poll. ix. 95. That enormous sums were lost at play is seen from Juvenal, i. 89, and hence all play for money was from an early period interdicted, with the single exception, *ubi pro virtute certamen fit*. Plaut. Mil. ii. 2, 9, mentions this law. No attention was paid to the complaints of persons who allowed gaming in their houses, not even in cases of robbery and actual violence. Paul. Dig. xi. 5, 2. See an instance of *condemnati de alea* in Cic. Phil. ii. 23. This law, as may be easily imagined, was not only transgressed in private more than any other, but became null and void under some of the emperors, who were passionately devoted to play, as Claudius, who wrote a book upon gaming. By others, again, it was vigorously enforced; this seems to have been the case with Domitian; and to this circumstance Martial often alludes. The game was only allowed as a pastime during meals, as we see from Paul. Dig. xi. 5, 4; and during the *Saturnalia* alone were all restrictions removed. Mart. xi. 6; v. 84. In the concealment of the *popina* it was doubtless frequently indulged in. Mart. iv. 14, where perhaps by *nequior talus* loaded dice are meant: in Aristot. *Problem.* xvi. 12, we have *μεμολυβδωμένους ἀστράγαλους*. How much these games became the fashion at a later period is shewn by Justinian's interdict, by which he allowed lost money to be demanded back. Cod. iii. 43. Similar decrees were in force against betting, which, however, we must not suppose to have been such

a mania as is described by Bulwer, in his *Last Days of Pompeii*. No bets were allowed upon games, which were entirely of chance. Marcian, *Dig.* xi. 5, 3.

Other games in which success did not depend on luck, but in a great measure on skill, were not illegal. Foremost among these stand the board-games, two of which are known to have been in vogue at Rome, *ludus latrunculorum*, and *duodecim scriptorum*. Martial seems to have alluded to them (xiv. 17); the *tabula lusoria* appears to have been a table on either side of which one of these games could be played.

The chief passage describing the first of these games is in Sal. Bassus, *Paneg. in Pis.* 180. See also Ovid, *Art. Am.* iii. 35, and *Trist.* ii. 477. (Comp. *Art. Am.* ii. 207). Poll. ix. 7; Eustath. p. 1397.

We learn from the above-named authors that the game was like our chess, or perhaps more of a besieging game; for the *mandræ*, mentioned by Bassus, and of which Martial speaks (vii. 72), can only be stones which served as a kind of intrenchment. The *calculi* were probably of different values, *longo venit ille recessu, qui stetit in speculis*; and perhaps a piece of this kind may be compared to a bishop in chess. Such is the opinion of Isidor. *Orig.* xviii. 67; but we have no proof that they were of different shape. The *mandræ* perhaps differed from the *latrones*, as the *calculi* were also called *latrunculi*, *militēs*, *bellatores*. They were generally made of glass, *vitreo peraguntur milite bella*, and *vitreo latrone clausus*. Also, Mart. xiv. 20. They were also made of more costly materials.

The art of the player consisted either in taking his adversary's pieces, or rendering them unable to move. The first took place when he brought some of his adversary's pieces between two of his own, *medius gemino calculus hoste perit*; they also sacrificed a piece occasionally for the purpose of gaining some greater advantage. The second was called *ligare*, *alligare*, *obligare*, and such pieces were said to be *inciti*, *ciere* being the proper expression for 'to move.' Plaut. *Pœn.* iv. 2 86. *Ad incitas redactus* meant one who could make no other move. The fewer number of pieces lost the greater was the victory; and we see from Senec. *De Tranq.* 14, what importance was attached to this.

The *ludus duodecim scriptorum* appears to have somewhat resembled our backgammon; at least so far as the dice decide the move. Petron. 33. The board was marked with twelve lines on which the pieces moved. Ovid. *Art. Am.* iii. 363. Moving the pieces was called *dare*. Cic. in Non. ii. p. 170; Ovid, *Art. Am.* ii. 303. Comp. *Trist.* ii. 475. Quinct. *Inst.* xi. 2. This game does not appear to have borne any affinity to the *πετρεῖα ἐπὶ πέντε γραμμῶν* of the Greeks, which perhaps was more like that mentioned by Ovid, *Trist.* ii. 481.

The *ἀρτίαςμός*, *ἀρτιάζειν*, *ἄρτια ἢ περιττὰ παίζειν* or *εἰπεῖν*, *ludere par impar*, seems not to have been uncommon at Rome. Poll. ix. 7, 101. Aristotle frequently mentions it, as *Rhet.* iii. 5, 4; *De Divin. per somn.*; compare Meurs. p. 948, and Schneid. on Xenoph. *de Off. mag.* 5, 10. Among Roman authors, it is mentioned by Hor. *Sat.* ii. 3, 248; *Nux. Eleg.* 79; Suet. *Aug.* 71. The game consisted in one person guessing whether the pieces of money, or whatever they might be which his adversary held in his hand, were odd or even; it is represented in works of art, as, for instance, where a boy is pressing to his heart the hand containing his gains. See Boettig. *Amalth.* i. 175. The *astragalizontes* of Polyclethus may, however, have been real dice-players. *August.* t. 106.

Mention is made of the Romans having adopted the *Κότταβος*, of which the Greeks were so passionately fond, and which is fully described by Athenæus, xv. Notwithstanding the numerous modifications of this game, we can only assume two varieties of it. The first, when a person had to pour wine into a vessel without spilling any of it. The second was this: a balance was suspended, and under one of the scales a basin with water, and the enigmatical Manes, were placed in it: the wine was to be poured into the scale, so that it sank down into the basin, and touched the Manes.



## EXCURSUS. SCENE XI.

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### THE MANNER OF CLOSING THE DOORS.

**A**MONG the least intelligible passages in ancient authors, are those which relate to some mechanism unknown to the moderns. If express descriptions, such as those of Vitruvius and Hero, and of the hydraulic machines of Ctesibius, are difficult to be understood, we are still more at a loss to give a satisfactory explanation, when casual mention merely is made of something well known at the time, let its mechanism have been ever so simple. This is especially the case when the locks or fastenings of the door are mentioned. Boettiger (*Kunstmyth.* i. p. 271) says with some truth, that 'the art of the locksmith is one which still requires much elucidation; and a perfect system of the ancient technology, chiefly after the Onomasticon of Pollux, remains to be written,' yet the system of nomenclature in Pollux will least contribute to clear up our difficulties.

Our examination must not only begin with the most ancient Greek period, concerning which Homer gives very important hints, but must also comprehend the East, as the origin of keys is probably to be sought for in Phœnicia. This point has partly been discussed in the more important writings on this subject, especially Salmas. *Exercitt.* p. 649; Sagittarius, *De jan. vet.* 9—15; Molin, *De clavibus veterum*, in Sallengre, *Thes. antt. Rom.* iii. 795; Montfauc. *Antiq. expl.* iii. r. t. 54, 55. The oldest method of fastening cannot be referred to that in use at Rome; and we shall here chiefly explain such terms as *obex*, *sera*, *repagula*, *pessuli*, *claustra*.

The method of fastening varied according to the form of the doors themselves, whether they opened inwards or outwards, and were folding-doors (*bifores*), or opened like window-shutters (*valvæ*). Varro: *Valvæ sunt, quæ revolvuntur et se velant*. The doors hung differently from ours; sometimes they had only wooden pegs, which fitted into a hollow on the upper or lower threshold (*Limen superum et inferum*. Plaut. *Merc.* v. 1, 1), or perhaps turned in rings; this was the case with larger doors

and gates. Pliny, xvi. 40, 77. In the inner chambers also the *cardines*, the pegs, were attached to the folding-doors, and the hollows or rings were placed in the threshold, or on the door-post, as we see from Appul. *Met.* i. p. 49.

Folding-doors were (at least in private houses) the most common. When they opened inwards the most simple method of fastening them was by drawing across a bar or wooden bolt *sera*. See Nonius, i. p. 41. Ovid, *Fast.* i. 265; and v. 280. Petron. 16. The usual expression for such bolting is *opponere*, or *apponere seram*, i. e. *obserare*. The *sera* rested on the door-post, as we learn from Ovid. *Amor.* i. 6, where, by *postis*, in connexion with *excutere*, we cannot understand the door. We cannot distinguish between the *sera* and the *obex*, further than that the latter word is a more general expression for everything placed before the door, but must not refer it to any particular contrivance. Hence we have in Festus, *Obices pessuli, seræ*. But the *repagula* were something of another sort; see Festus, 231, from whom we may conclude, by the words *patefaciundi gratia*, that it was a contrivance which allowed of the door being opened with less trouble than by the *sera*, and that, as the name occurs only in the plural, a cross-beam is not denoted by it, as by the *sera*, but two bolts meeting from opposite sides, whence Festus says, *e contrario oppanguntur*. In that case some means of joining the two together would be required, and perhaps this was effected, as among the Greeks, with a *βάλανος* (a pin), which being sunk into a hollow (*βαλανοδόκη*), connected the bolt with the door, and being itself hollow, was drawn out again when the door was to be opened, by means of an instrument (*βαλανάγρια*), that fitted into it. A similar contrivance was requisite also when the door opened outwards, where a bolt within would have been of no use, unless it were connected with the door.

This pin (*βάλανος*) is commonly supposed to be the same as that which the Romans called *pessulus*, but with the exception of the words of Marcellus Empiricus, cited by Sagittarius, we know of no other passage that would not militate against, rather than favour, this assumption. See Plaut. *Aul.* i. 2, 25; Ter. *Heaut.* ii. 3, 37; Eun. iii. 5, 55. Appul. *Met.* i. 44 Oud.; 49, 52; iii. p. 199; ix. p. 631. It is evident that something dif-

ferent from a hollow pin, which was sunk into the opening of the *sera*, is meant; we can neither reconcile therewith the expression *pessulum obdere foribus*, and the *oppessulata janua* so frequently occurring in Appuleius, nor does it appear why the plural *pessuli* is used. The nature of the ancient locks is not quite clear from Appuleius, but there can be no doubt that by *pessuli* we must understand bolts which could be moved backwards and forwards by a key.

In Terence, by *pessulus* may be understood a single bolt which was pushed forwards and backwards without a key. In Appuleius, on the contrary, the *pessuli* (a double bolt moved by a key) could not be drawn back without using the key; in the latter case we have therefore to understand real covered locks; and when we read *ad claustra pessuli recurrunt*, *claustra* means the lock-hasp into which the bolts shut.

All doors which were opened and fastened from without naturally had such locks. For house-doors they were not so necessary, as somebody always remained inside to open them. There was a hole in the door, through which the hand was inserted, in order to draw back the bolt by means of the key, as in the case in Appul. *Met.* iv. p. 359.

In cupboards, and places of that sort, such a hole would have been very inconvenient; and for this reason they were fastened from without; the same was the case with other doors, and even house-doors, as we see in Plaut. *Most.* ii. 1, 57. Tranio wishes to make Theuropides, on his return, believe that the house was no longer inhabited; hence he fastens the door outside, having already ordered Philolaches to do the same within. Both are done (v. 78). There must therefore have been a double lock on the door, or the fastening took place within by means of the *sera* or *repagula*, from without by a proper door-lock. A person standing before the door must have been able to perceive whether it was fastened outside, or there would have been no necessity for Tranio to lock it. The three-toothed key is considered of Lacedæmonian invention, for which reason it was called *clavis Laconica*. As far as its use among the Romans is concerned, the date of the invention is of no consequence, as this took place long before the time from which our accounts of the domestic life of the Romans are dated.

## EXCURSUS. SCENE XII.

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### THE INTERMENT OF THE DEAD.

**A**MONG the most ceremonious observances of the Romans were the solemnities in honour of the dead. Instead of simply consigning the corpse to the earth, such pomp and ceremonial had gradually got into vogue, that, though full of deep import in its promptings, yet in outward appearance, at least, it looked mere vain show ; nay more, nonsensical and ridiculous.

The custom has been already illustrated very satisfactorily by Alex. ab Alex. Gen. dd. iii. 7 ; more largely by Kirchmann, *De funeribus Romanorum* ; also by Nieupoort, *Ant. Rom. de ritu funerum*. See also Baehr's chapter on the subject, in Kreuzer's *Abriss*., which is more useful still.

The topic has been so often discussed, that the chief points only will be mentioned here.

The following passages from ancient authors are important. Virg. *Æn.* vi. 212, sqq. Tib. iii. 2. Prop. i. 17 ; ii. 3 ; iv. 7. Ovid. *Trist.* iii. 3. Petr. 71. Appul. *Flor.* iv. 19. Also particularly, Cic. *de Legg.* ii. 21. Polyb. vi. 53, 54 ; and Herodian, iv. 2.

The scrupulous conscientiousness observed in discharging the funeral rites, was intimately connected with the religious notion concerning the future state ; but it is very probable that this belief was originated and fostered by prudential motives, to counteract, in less civilised times, the evil effects which would have resulted from the neglect of sepulture. At a very early period the belief was rooted in people's minds, that the shades of the unburied wandered restlessly about, without gaining admittance into *Hades* ; so that non-burial came to be considered the most deplorable calamity that could befall one, and the discharge of this last service a most holy duty. This obligation was not restricted to relatives merely, and near connections ; it was performed towards strangers also ; and if one happened to meet with an unburied corpse, he at any rate observed the form of throwing earth thrice upon it. Hor. *Od.* i. 28, 22. Petr. 114.

And this was considered sufficient, as we see from Propert. iii. 7, 25 :

Reddite corpus humo, positaque in gurgite vita,  
Pæstum sponte tua vilis arena tegas.

Comp. Claud. in *Rufin.* i. 371.

The usage was rendered still more binding by a regulation that the heir, or family generally, a member of which had remained unburied, should yearly offer the propitiatory sacrifice of a *porca præcidanea*, and not till then was the *familia pura*. Varro in Non ii. p. 163. The annual repetition is expressly mentioned by Marius Victor, p. 2470, Putsch. Comp. Cic. *Leg.* ii. 22. And hence, in cases where the corpse was not obtainable, they held the *exequiæ* notwithstanding, and built an empty monument (*cenotaphium*), which was also done by the Greeks, as we know from Plato's *Menæxenus*.

As a duty binding upon everybody, the burial with its usages was called by the Romans *justa*, *justa facere*, or *ferre*, also *debita* (Hor. *Od.* ii. 6, 23), as among the Greeks τὰ δίκαια, νόμιμα, νομιζόμενα and in Plato's *Menæxenus*, τὰ προσήκοντα.

If not an universal, still it was not an uncommon habit, apparently, to give the dying a last kiss, in order to catch the parting breath. The passages from which this is inferred, are Cic. *Verr.* v. 45; Virg. *Æn.* iv. 684, *extremus si quis super halitus errat, ore legam*.

The same person, perhaps, closed the eyes of the departed, *condere oculos* (Ovid, *Trist.* iii. 3, 44), or *premere*, Ovid, *Am.* iii. 9, 49. The assertion that the signet-ring was also immediately pulled off the finger, and put on it again at the funeral pile, seems totally groundless. The passage quoted in support of this notion (Plin. xxxi. 1, 6), alludes to the dishonesty of the slaves. A second passage (Suet. *Tib.* 93) is also misunderstood. Spart. *Hadr.* 26, proves nothing; neither can we deduce from Propert. iv. 7, 9,

Et solitam digito beryllon adederat ignis,

anything more than that the ring was burnt with the corpse, not that it was then first replaced on the finger.

After this, those present called on the deceased by name, or set up a loud clamour and bewailing, for the purpose of recalling the person to life, if he should be only in a trance, *conclama-*

*batur*. The chief passages thereon are Quinct. *Decl.* viii. 10, and Amm. Marc. xxx. 10. From which we learn that this took place previous to the *curatura*; and hence also Ovid, *Trist.* iii. 3, 43:

Nec mandata dabo, nec cum clamore supremo  
Labentes oculos condet amica manus.

They then said *conclamatum est*, a formula also applied to other occurrences in life, when no more hope remained. See Terent. *Eun.* iii. 56. The corpse was thereupon taken down from the bed, *deponebatur*. See Ovid *supra*, v. 40:

Depositum nec me qui fleat ullus erit,

and washed with hot-water, perhaps to try to restore it to life. The funeral was next ordered of the *libitinarius*. These people, who were named from *Venus Libitina*, in whose temple their warehouses were situated, undertook to provide everything requisite for the interment. Plut. *Quæst. Rom.* 23. The law required that they should have due notice of a death, and receive a certain impost, just as when births were reported in the temple of *Juno Lucina*. Dion. Halic. iv. 15. Hence in Suet. *Ner.* 39, *Pestilentia in urbe tanta fuit, ut Libitina vix sufficeret*. The *libitinarii* furnished the *pollinctores*, *vespillones*, *præficæ*, and so forth—indeed, all that was necessary for either the humblest or grandest interment, at a certain rate of payment.

The *pollinctor*, a slave of the *libitinarius*, next cared for the corpse. Ulp. *Dig.* xiv. iii. 5; Plaut. *Asin.* v. 2, 60. *Ecquis currit, pollinctorem arcessere? Mortuu' st Demænetus*, and *Pæn. Prolog.* 63. Their business was chiefly to anoint the dead, and to remove anything that might be calculated to create unpleasant impressions. Fulgentius, *de Serm. ant.* 3: *Dicti autem pollinctores quasi pollutorum unctores*. Servius, on the contrary, (*Virg. Æn.* ix. 483), derives the word *a polline, quo mortuis os oblinebant, ne livor appareret extincti*. This being done, the corpse was clad in the garment suitable to his rank, but a free person always in the *toga*, even out of Rome, in the provincial towns, where it was not generally worn in life. Juv. iii 171:

Pars magna Italiæ est, si verum admittimus, in qua  
Nemo togam sumit nisi mortuus.

But of course its description was regulated by the position and property of the deceased. Magisterial persons, who wore the

*toga prætexta*, were also buried in it. Liv. xxxiv. 7. It is very uncertain whether *virī triumphales* were dressed in the *tunica palmata*, or *toga picta*. The passage from Suet. *Ner.* 50: *funeratus est stragulis albis auro intextis, quibus usus fuerat Kalendis Januariis*, refers just as little to the dress, as in Virg. *Æn.* vi. 221, the *purpureæ vestes velamina nota*, do. It is the *torus Attalicus* of Prop. ii. 13, 22. Still the waxen image lying on the coffin of Augustus, and representing his corpse, is thus attired. Dio Cass. lvi. 34.

The custom, so prevalent in Greece, of putting a chaplet on the corpse, was not followed at Rome, at least not generally. The case was somewhat different, when the deceased had, while alive, gained a crown as the reward of merit. To this refer the words Cic. *de legg.* ii. 24. The same applies to Plin. xxi. 3, and Cic. *p. Flacco*, 31. Nevertheless, the *lectus* and *rogus* were adorned with leaves and flowers, as is seen from Dion. xi. 39; and Pliny mentions that flowers were strewed before the bier of Scipio Serapio, a thing which often happened. The business of the *pollinctor* being finished, the corpse was laid on a kind of bed-of-state, *lectus funebris*. The usual opinion is, that a piece of coin was put in his hand, as a *ναῦλον*, on the shore of the Styx. But it may be doubted whether this was a regular Roman custom. The few passages where it is mentioned, as Juv. iii. 267, and Prop. iv. 11, 7, give no sufficient proof; for both the poets might very easily accommodate themselves to the foreign way of describing the thing, so often used by other poets. Virgil, in his description of the scene at the Stygian lake, mentions the *inops inhumataque turba* (*Æn.* vi. 325), yet not a word about the passage-money, though he had such ample opportunity for so doing. Lastly, the coins discovered in urns at Pompeii are not a cogent proof of it.

By the side of the *lectus* a censer was placed, *acerra* (*turibulum*), Fest. *Exc.* p. 16; and near the house a pine or cypress was planted; partly as a symbol of the gloomy power who had irrevocably demanded his victim; partly as a warning sign to those who were forbidden by religious grounds to enter such a house. Plin. xvi. 10, 18, *ibid.* 33, (*cupressus*): *Diti sacra et ideo funebri signo ad domos posita*. Serv. *ad Virg. Æn.* iii. 64 This warning was particularly for the priests, as Servius goes on

to say: *ne quisquam pontifex per ignorantiam pollueretur ingressus*. Scaliger concludes from Lucan (iii. 442), *et non plebeios lectos testata cupressus*, that the cypress, in earlier times a rare tree, was used only by the rich, or at grand funerals. The *picea* was, doubtless, substituted for it in other cases.

According to Servius (*ad Æn.* v. 64), the corpse remained lying in state for seven days, and was then brought to the place of interment, *efferebatur*. The accuracy of this statement has been already impugned by Kirchmann, at least, as regards the custom being a universal one. Indeed it is evident that, among the lower orders, such ceremoniousness could not have prevailed, and that they buried their dead with more simplicity and less delay, not being able to procure the preservative *unguenta*.

A herald, *præco*, used to invite the people to be present at the celebration of any grand burial, where, for instance, public games formed part of the spectacle. This was a *funus indictivum*. Fest. Exc. p. 79; Cic. *de legg.* ii. 24. The formula used by the *præco* ran in full: *Ollus Quiris leto datus est, exsequias (L. Titio, L. filio) ire cui commodum est, jam tempus est, ollus ex ædibus effertur*. Varr. *L. L. V.* p. 160; comp. Fest. p. 217; Terent. *Phorm.* v. 9, 37; and Ovid, *Amor.* iii. 6, 1.

*Psittacus Eois imitatrix ales ab Indis*

*Occidit: exsequias ite frequenter aves.*

The *funus publicum* may be considered of like import with the *funus indictivum*, especially with reference to Tacit. iii. 4; but the distinction drawn by Festus under *Simpludiarea* is uncertain (p. 259, L.)

There are no fully decisive testimonies as to the time of day when the burial took place. We must suppose it to have varied at different periods, and according to circumstances. Servius (*ad Æn.* xi. 143), says that in more ancient times the funeral was at night, and he derives the word *funus* from *funalia* or *faces*, as *vespillones* from *vespera*. At a later period, however, this was only the case with the poor, who could not afford the expense of a solemn interment. Festus under *Vespæ*, p. 158. But his remark does not prove so much as the epigram on the fat Gallus, who had fallen down in the street at night, and could not be raised to his feet again by the single slave that accompanied him. Mart. viii. 75.



But in case of a solemn *pompa*, and of course an *indictivum*, the ceremony took place by day: not before dawn, as some suppose, though therein they are contradicted by express testimonies; but just at that time of the day when there was most stir in the streets, as Horace, in his picture of the bustle and excitement of the city, says,

*Tristia robustis luctantur funera plaustis.*

This occurred in the forenoon, as is confirmed by the inscription cited by Kirchmann, p. 83: *Mortuus est iii. K. Julias, hora x. elatus est hora iii. frequentia maxima.*

The *funera indictiva* were not all celebrated with equal magnificence. The most splendid kind was the *funus censorium*, not the interment of a censor, but graced with the distinctions proper to this person. Tacit. *Ann.* iv. 15, of Lucilius Longus who had never been a censor, and (xiii. 2), *Claudio censorium funus* (decretum est). The author does not remember any account of wherein consisted this distinction. Age too made a difference. In the case of children, and of boys, till they assumed the *toga virilis*, fewer ceremonies took place. Such funerals were called *acerba funera*, i.e. *immatura*. Tib. 2, 6, 29. Hor. *Sat.* ii. 8, 59. Nero in Tacit. xiii. 17, respecting the burial of Germanicus. They were buried *ad faces et cereos*, and therefore, probably, in the evening. Senec. *de Tranquil.* 11. *Epist.* 122. No decisive proof has been discovered by the author of torches, which belonged to the ancient practice of night-interment, having been kept up in the case of adult funerals. Passages like Propert. iv. 11, 46: *Viximus insignes inter utramque facem*, refer to the torches with which the funeral pile was kindled. He had said before (v. 10):

*Sic mœstæ cecinere tubæ, cum subdita nostrum  
Detraheret lecto fax inimica caput.*

And thus are to be understood all similar passages, where the *fax nuptialis* is opposed to the *feralis*. We may here remark, that very young children were never burnt, but always inhumed. Juven. xv. 139 ff. Plin. vii. 16, 15. At a grand interment the procession was arranged by a *designator*, who was supported by a *lictor* and an *accensus*, or several *lictores*, for the purpose of maintaining order. Cic. *De legg.* ii. 24. Hor. *Epist.* i. 7, 61.

In front went the *tibicines*, the number of whom was limited

by the twelve tables, to ten; or also more powerful music, *cornua* and *tubæ*. Hor. *Sat.* i. 6, 43, and Heindorf's remark. Something, perhaps, of the construction of these *tubæ* may be gained from Ovid. *Amor.* ii. 6, 6:

Horrida pro mœstis lanitur pluma capillis,  
Pro longa resonent carmina vestra tubæ;

unless it be only a general epithet.

Then followed the *præficæ*, female mourners, also furnished by the *libitinarius*. Hor. *Art.* 431. It seems of no consequence whether we read *quæ conductæ* in this passage or not, as the gender can be taken generally. See Fea, *Fest. Exc.* p. 122. They sang the *nænia*, properly a wailing panegyric on the deceased. Plaut. *Truc.* ii. 6, 14.

Sine virtute argutum civem mihi habeam pro præfica  
Quæ alios collaudat, eapse se vero non potest.

Just so Non. ii. p. 145. These *næniæ* were also named *mortualia*, and were accounted *nugæ*. Plaut. *Asin.* iv. 1, 63: *Hæ sunt non nugæ, non enim mortualia*. The further signification of the word, by which it frequently comes to denote the end, does not belong here.

Still stranger was the custom for *mimi* to join in the procession, perhaps next to the *præficæ*, who [not only indulged in sober reflections, and applied passages from the tragedians to the present case, but actually formed, sometimes, an odd contrast to the rest of the pageantry of woe, by acting the part of regular merry-andrews, whilst one of the number, probably always the *archimimus*, imitated the person of the defunct. The chief passages illustrative of this custom are in Dion. Hal. viii. 72; and Suet. *Vesp.* 19. The *artifices scenici* at the funeral procession of Julius Cæsar were of a soberer character, everything here being calculated for tragic effect and excitement. Another passage, which is quoted in support of the custom (Suet. *Tib.* 57), has nothing to do with it; for the *scurra* evidently does not belong to the *pompa*, but is among the crowd of bystanders.

These dancers and mimes were most likely followed by the *imagines majorum*. After many extraordinary notions having been started on this subject, Eichstädt's *dissertt. de imagg. Rom.* has at length established beyond a doubt, that men resembling in

size and figure the persons to be represented, placed these waxen masks before their faces, and marched along in front of the *lectus*, clad in the dress appropriate to each, with all the insignia appertaining; whence also Hor. *Epod.* viii. 2, *Esto beata funus atque imagines ducant triumphales tuum*. Polybius, too, speaks of it in terms impossible to be mistaken. vi. 53. Thus the whole row of ancestors swept along, represented by living individuals in proper costume, in front of the corpse; and this was not confined to those in direct ascent, but the collateral branches also sent their *imagines* to the cavalcade; as is seen from Polybius. This is what Pliny, xxxv. 2, calls *gentilitia funera*. The spectacle was carried to greater length at the burial of Augustus. Dio Cass. lvi. 34. Whether the *imagines*, as Polybius relates, were always driven in carriages, may be doubted. Propert. says, ii. 13, 19:

Nec mea tunc longa spatietur imagine pompa:

which word *spatiari*, the author never met with used of a person riding in a carriage.

If the deceased had earned warlike renown, gained victories, conquered lands and towns, then doubtless, as in the case of a triumph, *tabulae* were carried before him inscribed with his deeds. So Dion. Hal. (viii. 59) relates of Coriolanus, *πρὸ τῆς κλίνης αὐτοῦ φέρεσθαι κελεύσαντες λάφυρά τε καὶ σκῦλα, καὶ στρεφάνους, καὶ μνήμας ὧν εἶλε πόλεων*. Tacit. *Ann.* i. 8, of Augustus. These were most likely carried in advance of the *imagines*, and the latter did not come after, but preceded the corpse, as indeed was most natural, for they had preceded the deceased in death, and he completed their train. It is, moreover, expressly stated in Tacit. iii. 76, *Viginti clarissimarum familiarum imagines antelatae sunt*. Propert. (ii. 13, 23) also mentions pans of incense. Immediately after these came the *funus* itself, lying a little raised upon a *lectica* or *lectus funebris*, in the case of persons of distinction made of ivory, or at least with ivory feet. Over it purple or gold-embroidered coverlets were expanded, *Attalicæ vestes*, on which lay the corpse. Dio Cass. lvi. 34, of Augustus.

According to Servius (*ad Virg. Æn.* vi. 222), the *lectus* was borne by the nearest relations, or by the slaves who had been made free by the will. Pers. iii. 106, *At illum hesterni capite induto subiere Quirites*; and in the case of men of particular

merit and renown, even by knights, senators, and magistrates. Now the latter certainly did take place in some individual cases (see Kirchm. ii. 8), but it is doubtful whether the former was an universal custom. Velleius, it is true, relates it of *Metellus* (Macedonicus), i. 11, 7, *Mortui ejus lectum pro rostris sustulerunt quatuor filii*, etc.; and the same account is given by Pliny, Cicero, and Valerius Maximus, but they always adduce it as something particular.

The lower classes, at least, made use of regular bearers, hired by the *libitinarius*, *vesperones* or *vespillones*. Of course, at such a *funus plebeium* or *tacitum*, the pomp we have been describing was entirely omitted. Those who were poorer still, and slaves, were carried by the *vespillones*, to the place of interment, in a covered bier or coffin, *sandapila*. Fulgent. *de serm. ant.* 1. It is often mentioned by Martial, who also calls it (x. 5) *orciniana sponda*. This is also meant by Hor. *Sat.* i. 8, 9, *cadavera vili portanda locabat in arca*.

As the images of his ancestry came before the *lectus*, so, after it, followed the heirs and relations of the deceased, also the freedmen, viz. those who had just been *manumissi* by the will, with their hats on, the mark of their acquired freedom, *pileati*, unless, as some suppose, the latter preceded the *lectus*. See Kirchm. ii. 7. Besides these, friends also and persons from the crowd attached themselves to the procession.

Not only the family were dressed in mourning, but also the whole convoy, and even the *lictors* (see Hor. above). Death itself being supposed to be muffled in black, *μελάμπελος* (Eurip. *Alcest.* 860), black was the colour of mourning from the earliest times. *Iliad.* xxxiv. 94. So also of the Greeks generally. Eurip. *Phæn.* 295, *ἄμπελος φαρῶν λευκῶν*, and 339. Hence, Tacit. *Ann.* iii. 2, *atrata plebes*, and Juv. iii. 213, *pullati proceres*. It is mentioned most definitely with respect to the women. See Varro, *de vit. p. R.* Tibull. i. 3, 6, and iii. 2, 16.

It was not till under the Emperors that white garments were substituted for black ones, with the women. Plut. *Quæst. Rom.* 26: Stat. *Silv.* iii. 3, 3:

Huc vittata comam, niveoque insignis amictu,  
Mitibus exsequiis ades.

The reason may have been, as Kirchmann remarks, that white

robes were, in common life, replaced more and more by coloured ones, so that to dress in white at that time was quite as much an abstinence from the usual garb, as formerly it was to appear in black or sombre habiliments.

The procession went first to the *forum*, in front of the *rostra*, where the *lectus* was set down. Dion. Hal. iv. 40. Hence also in Hor. *Sat.* i. 6, 43, *concurrentque foro tria funera*. Here the bearers of the *imagines* took their seats *cellis curulibus*. Polyb. vi. 53, 9. Usually, one of the relations mounted the *tribune*, and pronounced the *laudatio funebris*, λόγος ἐπιτάφιος, over the dead. The first person of whom this is related, is Poplicola, who pronounced the *laudatio* on Brutus. Plut. 9. The custom, a genuine Roman one, was however perhaps of older date. Dion. Hal. v. 17; comp. Creuz. *Abriss.* p. 452. After the panegyric on the deceased was ended, the speaker went, in a similar manner, over all the forefathers, whose *imagines* were present, and recounted their individual merits. See Polyb. above. The author dwells on the political importance of these public recognitions of the merits, not of one individual only, but of a whole family. Still it is easy to conceive, that these *laudationes* did not always contain the truth, and that the speaker would pass over the dark side of his friend's character, whilst he described the brighter one in too glowing colours. Hence Cic. *Brut.* 16, and Liv. viii. 40, *Vitiatam memoriam funebribus laudibus reor*.

The same honour might be paid to women also, but only as a particular distinction. It took place first after the Gallic war. Liv. v. 50. *Matronis gratiæ actæ honosque additus, ut earum, sicut virorum, post mortem solemnitas laudatio esset*. Plutarch, *Camill.* 8. Latterly it must have ceased entirely, or occurred very rarely. Cic. *de Orat.* ii. 11. The knowledge even of the previous instances had been lost. More examples are cited in Creuzer's *Abriss.* p. 454.

After this solemnity, the *lectus* was again raised, the train got in motion in the same order as before, and directed its course to the place of interment.

The custom of burying is said to have been older than that of burning (Cic. *de Legg.* ii. 22), and there were certain families, which adhered to it down to a late period; e. g. the patrician

*gens Cornelia*. Cic. above. Sylla is said to have been the first of it, who caused himself to be consumed by fire. Plin. vii. 54. But, in reality, inhumation always took place, even in the case of burning the body, for then, instead of the grave, the funeral-vault was substituted, in which was placed the cinerary.

Both methods are distinguished in the twelve tables (Cic. 23): *Hominem in Urbe ne sepelito, neve urito*. The two kinds of burial are placed in juxta-position, and the *crematio* is expressly opposed to the *sepultura*, if Cicero's explanation be correct. Pliny, on the contrary, in the passage cited above, understands the matter differently, and perhaps more correctly, which is important, as he probably had Cicero's passage before his eyes. He says: *sepultus vero intelligatur quoquo modo conditus, humatus vero humo contactus*. The meaning of the law would therefore be, that no sort of burial might take place in the city, any more than burning might; for this latter could happen, and still the corpse be consigned to a *sepulchrum* outside the city. At an earlier period, it seems that the deceased was frequently buried in his own house.

Still, there were individual exceptions to this prohibition: e. g. when a *triumphator* died. Plut. *Quæst. Rom.* 79. So also many families retained the right of burial in the city, on the strength of being descended from illustrious men. Cic. above. The vestal virgins also were an exception, and, afterwards, the Emperors. Indeed the law seems to have often been transgressed, and hence the interdict required renewal. See Creuz. *Abr.* p. 456.

A *sepultura*, therefore, always took place, even when the body had been burnt, and hence the word is used, in a general sense, for *crematio* also. See Drakenb. *Liv.* viii. 24. Thus also the Greeks distinguish between *καίειν* and *θάπτειν*. Dion. Hal. v. 48, concerning Poplicola; Fest. *Exc.* 26; Stallb. ad Terent. *Andr.* i. 1, 101; Böttig. *Vasengem.* i. 42.

At no time were there universal burial-places for all classes. Whoever could afford it, selected or acquired a spot outside the city, in the most frequented situation, as on high-ways, and here a family-sepulchre was erected. The very lowest class only, viz. slaves and condemned criminals, had a common burial-ground on the *Esquilinus*, up to the time of Augustus. Hor. *Sat.* i.

8, 10. See the verses following, and Heindorf's note. The place was called *Puticulæ* (*Puticoli*, *Putiluculi*). The chief passage is in Varro, *L. L.* v. 5; Fest. *Exc.* p. 118. What Festus really wrote, can, in consequence of the mutilated state of the fragment, only be guessed at. There the corpses were either burnt, without any further interment, or inhumed, or thrown down unburied. Of course it was not an universal burial-place for slaves, but only for the *vilis mancipia*.

As burning the corpse came very early into use, the further ceremonies at the *humatio* are little known. The corpses were either consigned to the earth in coffins, or placed in tombs built for the purpose. The more general names for the coffin, are *arca*, and in Fulgent. *loculus*; the particular one, *capulus*. That this word does not mean a bier, *feretrum*, has been sufficiently proved by Oudendorp ad Apul. *Met.* viii. p. 544, and x. p. 690. These coffins were mostly of wood, but also at times of more costly materials; still the *sarcophagi*, as they are called,—so named from the remarkable properties of the *lapis sarcophagus* (Plin. ii. 96, xxxvi. 17), though also constructed of marble and other stone,—must be considered only as the outer receptacle of the coffin.

Latterly, burning the corpse gradually fell into disuse, and hence the frequent mention of the coffins, even as early as in Apuleius. See Macrobius, *Sat.* vii. 7.

The pile on which the corpse was laid, varied in height, and in decoration also, according to the pecuniary circumstances and condition of the defunct. The distinction which Serv. ad Virg. *Æn.* ix. 188, makes between *pyra* and *rogus*,—*pyra est lignorum congeries*, *rogus cum jam ardere cœperit*, is decidedly false, as is learnt from the ordinance of the twelve tables. Cic. *de Legg.* ii. 23: *rogum ascia ne polito*. It is pure chance that Virgil first has *constituere pyras*, and then *circum accensos decurrere rogos*: the poet merely interchanges the words.

On the other hand, when burnt down, the pile was called *bustum*, and the place of burning *ustrina*. See Fest. above. Around the pile cypress-trees were planted. Virg. *Æn.* vi. 216; and thereon Servius. The corpse being placed on it, *odores*, i. e. *tus*, *unguenta*, *liquores*, were scattered, and garlands and locks of hair thrown upon it. Stat. *Silv.* ii. 1, 162, and more in

detail, v. 1, 210, ff. This was done, however, not only by the family, but also by others, who had joined in the procession. See Kirchm. iii. 5. Previously to this, the dead person received another last kiss, if such passages as the following can be accounted a proof of it. Prop. ii. 13, 29, and Ovid, *Amor.* iii. 9, 53.

After this, a loud lament was again set up, led by the *præfica* (see Serv. above); Terent. *Andr.* i. 1, 102, where we can hardly suppose that a Greek custom only is alluded to. While these lamentations were going on, the nearest relations, or one of them, averting his face, lighted the pile. It probably consisted, not merely of large logs, but also of combustible materials, as pitch, and perhaps dried rushes. This seems meant by Martial (x. 97), unless, perhaps, a *tomentum* is to be understood. Pitch, however, is expressly named in an inscription adduced by Kirchmann.

Concerning the gladiatorial exhibitions that sometimes took place during the burning, see Creuz. *Abr.* p. 463, ff., where the following usages are also amply explained, and will not therefore be enlarged upon.

After the pile was burnt to the ground, the glowing ashes were quenched. Virg. *Æn.* vi. 226, is cited to shew that this was done with wine, and Stat. *Silv.* ii. 6, 90, *quod tibi Setia canos restinxit cineres*. Both passages, however, might be referred to the besprinkling after the *ossilegium*. Tibull. iii. 2, 19. The words of Pliny (xiv. 12) contain a more forcible proof: *Vino rogum ne respergito*. It had, therefore, occurred, and that during Pliny's time. Add to this Prop. iv. 7, 34. Perhaps Tibullus, too, means nothing else; and it was only in case of great extravagance that not merely the collected bones, but also the whole *rogus* was besprinkled with wine.

The other succeeding rites are nowhere better recounted than in the very passage of Tibull. cited above. The poet describes how he wished to be buried, after having been changed into ashes by Neæra and her mother (v. 15, ff.). He also dictates the inscription for his monument.

The exact order of things, as given by him, then, is this: First, the Manes of the defunct were to be invoked: then, they washed their hands, and gathered the bones into the mourning-



robe. These were next sprinkled with wine, and, again, with milk, and then dried on a linen cloth. All sorts of perfumes were then mingled with the ashes. Ovid, *Trist.* iii. 3, 69, where by *foliis*, perhaps *nardum* is meant. Huschke ad Tibull. i. 3, 7, has denied that perfumed liquids, *unguenta, liquores*, were poured upon them. But there is no mistaking Ovid, *Fast.* iii. 561.

Bottles, filled with perfumes, were placed inside the tomb, which was besprinkled *odoribus*. These are the tear-flasks, or *lacrimatories*, so often mentioned formerly (see Böttig. *Vaseng.* i. p. 66). The expression for this consigning to the tomb were, *condere* and *componere*. Tibull. *supra*; Prop. ii. 2, 35. *Condere*, however, is said properly of collecting into the *urna*, and *componere* of consigning to the monument. Ovid, *Trist.* iii. 3, 70:

Inque suburbano condita pone solo.

Hence the buried were called *conditi, compositi, siti*. Cic. *de Legg.* ii. 22. The burial being now completed, the last farewell was bid to the deceased, in the well-known formulæ: *ave anima candida; terra tibi levis sit; molliter cubent ossa*, and so forth; and after those assembled had been purified by sprinkling with consecrated water (*lustratio*), and the *Illicit* had been pronounced, they separated. Who performed these two rites is doubtful. See Servius ad Virg. *Æn.* vi. 216.

For some questions of minor importance, as cutting off the finger before burning the corpse, and the words of the twelve tables, *Homini mortuo ne ossa legito*, see Kirchm. iii. 7, and Creuz. *Abr.* p. 465.

The *urnæ* in which the bones were preserved, were of various materials, mostly *testæ*. Propert. says (ii. 13, 32): *accipiat manes parvula testa meos*: but they were also of stone and metal. Glass ones have been also found at Pompeii, inclosed in others of lead. The nature of the tombs, both as regards external form and interior arrangements, is known from numerous monuments still extant. See Goro von Agyagf. *Wand. d. Pompeii*: the plan and view of the street of tombs, the ground-plan and section of the tomb of Nævoleia Tyche, and other monuments<sup>1</sup>.

One of the most instructive passages, respecting the environs, and means of protecting the monument, apart from its absurdities,

<sup>1</sup> These are given in Gell's *Pompeiana*. Transl.

is to be found in Petron. 71, 16. Among the ornaments which Trimalchio orders from the *lapidarius*, are also, *naves plenis velis euntes*, and such allegorical reliefs have actually been found on *cippi*. See Goro, t. 6. The tombs were generally protected by a ring-wall, as that of Nævoleia Tyche. In the interior, i. e. the proper *cinerarium* or *ossuarium*, stood the urns in niches, whence also the whole receptacle obtained the name of *columbarium*. Beside them were placed lamps, *lucernæ sepulchrales*, and the above-mentioned *lacrymatories*. On the *cippus* was always the inscription, *titulus*. Ovid, iii. 3, 77.

The proper name for such a funeral-monument, is *monumentum*, only that it can also be erected, for form's sake only, as a *cenotaphium*. Cic. *pro Sexto*, 67. Thus the beautiful monument of Calventius at Pompeii, is a *cenotaphium*, without *ossuarium*. On other occasions, the names *sepulchrum*, *bustum*, and even *tumulus*, are frequently used as synonymes.

These observations must suffice, respecting this very voluminous topic.

Much valuable matter, on the same subject, is to be found in Creuzer's *Abriss*. p. 468.

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